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THE MAKING OF OUR MIDDLE SCHOOLS

AN ACCOUNT OF
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

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TO MY WIFE

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P R E F A C E

IN undertaking to write this book it was my desire to make some small contribution to the history of American civilization. The outcome of the effort I have not ventured to dignify with the high title of *History*. But, whatever its shortcomings, I am hopeful that it may, at least provisionally, fill a gap in the literature of American education.

While the need of such a work was first suggested to me by experience with university classes, it was not specifically a text-book that I set out to write. It seemed desirable, rather, to prepare a book for two classes of readers: First, for such as are making or are disposed to make a serious study of American education in its process of development; and, secondly, for such "general readers" as may seek an acquaintance with our educational annals, for any of the thousand reasons which guide general readers in their choice of books. A work prepared for readers of these two groups seemed likely to make a better text-book than one intended to serve as a text-book and nothing else.

In the time at my disposal it would have been possible to present a more adequate "intensive" study of some single stage of our educational development. This rather extensive work has been undertaken instead, with deliberate purpose. We seem to have reached a point, in our studies of American educational history, where a comprehensive view is needed, for the betterment of our special monographs, if for no other reason. Probably such a point is reached, sooner or later, in every branch of historical research. But such a work as this aims to be is needed, too, for the betterment of schools.

Our secondary education is expanding wonderfully, and is making and meeting new problems; and a knowledge of the past, while it cannot answer new questions, can prompt wise men to answer them prudently and great-heartedly.

The setting of limits, which has been found necessary all along, has brought up repeatedly the question of selection among the materials available, and the closely related question of proportions among the materials used. It will doubtless be found that many things have been omitted which were worthy in every way of a place with those which have been mentioned. I must crave indulgence for any mistakes of this kind which may appear. It would be well-nigh impossible to avoid them altogether.

One difficulty of an exceptional sort has been that of keeping New England, and especially Massachusetts, from occupying more than its share of the book. Whenever an illustration of some good educational movement is needed, Massachusetts appears with a conspicuous example. At almost every call her hand goes up among the first. I cannot wonder at President Draper's remark that other states need "the help of Massachusetts men to tell the story."

But this prominence, it appears, is due not only to the telling, but to the story as well. When one has seen how widely the educational ideas of New England have been spread abroad, west and south, all through our history, and how many men of both the South and the West and the lands that lie between have been directly influenced by New England education, there appears less objection to the frequent recurrence of New England names in such a record as this. That section of our land has had indeed a notable educational history. I have tried to do it proportionate justice without obscuring the greatness of the educational influence which has gone forth from other centres.

In the preparation of this volume I have received help from many sources, for which I desire to express the hearti-

est thanks. My indebtedness extends to so many that I refrain, though very reluctantly, from attempting individual acknowledgment. The Regents of the University of California granted me leave of absence with a view particularly to the writing of the book. I had already made a number of preliminary studies, extending over several years, in which members of my graduate seminar had given me valuable assistance. At twenty libraries, east and west, I have received numberless courtesies, which have aroused in me the highest admiration for the New American Librarian—both type and individual. Like every one else who has written on American schools, I have received much valuable information from the Bureau of Education at Washington, together with some part of that finer help which for many years has been going forth from our Commissioner's office. Many other school men, and women, have helped me, some of them members of the universities, and many of them principals and teachers of our secondary schools. I am deeply grateful to them all.

ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN.

NEW YORK, May 31, 1902.

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE issuance of a second edition of this work has offered an opportunity of correcting a few errors which have been discovered in the first edition. No general revision has, however, been undertaken.

E. E. B.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
January 5, 1905.

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NOTE

The following abbreviations are employed in foot-notes and bibliography:—

- Am. Ed. Hist.* for Contributions to American Educational History, edited by Herbert B. Adams.
- Am. Inst. Instr.* for The Papers Read before the American Institute of Instruction, with the Journal of Proceedings.
- Am. Journ. Ed.* for [Barnard's] The American Journal of Education.
- Circ. Inf.* for Circular of Information of the United States Bureau of Education.
- Col. Univ. Contribs.* for Columbia University Contributions to Philosophy, Psychology, and Education.
- Ed. Rev.* for Educational Review.
- N. A. Rev.* for The North American Review.
- Proc. N. E. A.* for The Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Educational Association.
- Rept. Comr. Ed.* for report of the [United States] Commissioner of Education.



THE MAKING OF OUR MIDDLE SCHOOLS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

AMERICAN institutions are an expression of American character. The making of that character and the making of those institutions can hardly be thought of as distinct processes. They are different aspects of one process, and neither of them can be understood apart from the other. We are to look into this twofold development as it appears in the records of American education.

The schools, in general, have occupied an intermediate position between church and state, responding always to influences from both sides, but affected chiefly in earlier times by ecclesiastical considerations and in later times chiefly by considerations of a political character; and at all times they have been open to influences of a more diffusive sort, economic, literary, and, broadly speaking, social. Of the schools, too, the secondary schools occupy an intermediate position: they have been influenced by educational institutions and educational processes both above them and below. This fact adds much to the difficulty of the present inquiry, but in adding to its difficulty adds also to its interest.

It is, perhaps, sufficient for our purpose to define secondary education roughly as education of a higher stage than that of the elementary school and lower than that of institutions authorized to give academic degrees. This definition gives

no clean-cut boundaries; but historically the limits of secondary education are shadowy and variable. We find occasionally secondary schools which take young pupils through the first steps of reading, writing, and arithmetic. On the other hand, we have seen institutions authorized to give degrees, and actually giving degrees, when their courses of instruction were hardly sufficient to fit their graduates for admission to the best degree-giving institutions. All such instances as these must be regarded as variations from the type and not as themselves determining the type. The definition proposed is inexact for another reason. The standards of one generation differ from those of earlier and later generations. There are doubtless high schools of the present day which offer a more generous course of instruction than did the leading colleges of a century ago. On the other hand, there has been a marked tendency within the past century to extend the scope of elementary instruction. It happens that in one school the studies commonly pursued in secondary schools are begun two or three years earlier than in some neighboring institution where the pupils' progress in the work assigned them is equally rapid.

In the course of its development, the American secondary school has got wedged in between the elementary school and the college, each of which has developed independently, without any such check or bar. So the education that we commonly call secondary covers a shorter period in this country than in other leading culture lands. The prevailing usage nowadays in the United States assigns eight years to the elementary school, followed by four years in the secondary school; and that in turn followed by four years in the college, with the bachelor's degree at the end of the course: this with many occasional and local variations. The pupil is supposed to begin his secondary schooling at about the age of fourteen. In colonial times the length of the secondary school course was about the same as now, though more variable, but pupils often entered the secondary school much earlier than is now customary. It should

be added that where the normal age for the beginning of secondary school studies is fourteen, the average age of the actual beginners is considerably higher.

The method of definition of secondary education followed by Dr. Harris in the United States Bureau of Education is based upon the studies pursued. The classic languages, algebra, geometry, the natural sciences, the history of other countries than our own, and certain other subjects, are treated as of secondary grade; and students who are pursuing three such subjects are counted as secondary-school students. This is a simple and workable method of classification, based upon the common practice of our schools.

Back of these definitions, however, lie theoretical considerations. There is a stage in mental development, above the empirical stage and below the philosophical, which may be called the scientific. The grade of education corresponding to this intermediate stage may, quite naturally, be called secondary, that below it being called primary, and that above it, higher. The primary or elementary division deals mainly with things in their unessential relationships, their resemblances and differences, their collocation in space, and their orderly arrangement in temporal series. It rises, to be sure, to general ideas, but hardly arrives at logical definition of its ideas. The secondary division deals with ideas more clearly defined; and it comes to an understanding of things as organized into coherent systems through the operation of such principles as those of mechanical causation and human imitation. These principles have already become familiar, to be sure, in the earlier stage, but not in their larger significance. Higher education seeks, finally, in the study of philosophy, to attain to a complete comprehension of the world, viewing it in the light of ultimate principles.

Secondary education accordingly deals with language not merely by way of employing it as a means of communication; but looks into its grammatical structure and comes to an understanding of the functions and interrelations of its

several parts. The student is set free from the distortions of life-long familiarity by a comparison of the forms of his mother tongue with those of another language or other languages. His practice of composition is organized through the regulative principles of rhetoric. His knowledge of literature is not only broadened by new readings in the best works of two or three languages, but is organized by a study of the elements of literary construction and also of the historical development of the several languages and their literatures. His knowledge of the facts of general history is likewise extended, and the comparison of the histories of different peoples helps him to some understanding of the connection of events one with another through the working of social influences. His knowledge of arithmetic and mensuration is universalized in algebra and geometry; and his fragments of information concerning natural phenomena are run together and worked over into some semblance of a rounded science. It is, in other words, the business of secondary education to raise all subjects which it touches to the plane of science, by bringing all into the point of view of organizing principles.

The distinction between elementary and secondary education seems to carry with it some such logical implications as have been indicated. There are objective facts of human development upon which a similar distinction may be based. Secondary education has been described as the education of adolescents. The comparatively brief period assigned to schools of this grade in America covers only an earlier stage of adolescence, but that is a stage in which some of the most decisive changes, physical and temperamental, may be expected to take place. Those foreign systems which place the pupil in a secondary school at the age of nine or ten, bring together children and adolescents in the same educational institution.

Secondary education, regarded as the education of adolescents, is that stage in which the brain of the student, after twelve or fourteen years of slow development, is for the first

time prepared to do its part in the full range of human activity — in which the student may be said to be for the first time in full possession of his proper complement of human capacities, instincts, and modes of thought. Beginning with this equipment, secondary education carries the student forward through the period in which he is making the mastery over his new-found self, and helps him to adjustment with his new-found world.

The interpretations of the rational and the physiological psychologist show what was dimly apprehended in the slow working out of our systems of secondary education, and propose principles for guidance in future reforms. Another view, which has more or less consciously influenced our division of schools, is that which regards education in its relation to the organization of society. Primary education, from this standpoint, is the education needed for all; which, for the sake of the general good, no citizen can be permitted to do without. Beyond this is the region of difference, of divergence, and it may be added, of very great uncertainty and dispute. Occasionally one hears the prophecy that what we call secondary education will eventually be an education for all. It is now the lower stage of the education that cannot be for all, and the stage in which differentiation according to the individual's prospective service to society, or according to the individual's peculiar tastes and capacities, or according to both of these together, finds its beginning. Secondary education is differentiated education in its earlier processes. It makes the preliminary survey of the student's special aptitudes and capacities, with a view to discovering, to himself and to those interested in his future, what there is in him that may be made of most worth to society, and so most serviceable to his own self-realization.

If we were to extend our historical inquiry so as to cover everything that belongs theoretically to the secondary stage of education, we should find ourselves overlapping at one time the higher grades of our elementary schools and at

another time the lower classes of the colleges. Secondary education would claim, from different points of view, varying amounts of the adjacent territory. There is a disposition at present to increase its range by half, or even double it, by annexing to it two years or thereabouts from the course of the elementary school and a like amount from that of the college. This change, for the most part, has been made in theory only, though the theory has found some partial embodiment in actual school organization. If we were to carry such theoretical reconstruction back into the history of our schools, this account of the development of secondary education would take in the greater part of our college history and make some inroads upon the history of our elementary schools as well. The boundaries of the subject are vague enough at best, and we shall avoid further confusion by limiting ourselves to the schools as organized. Only it will be remembered that this procedure excludes much that might fairly be brought under the term "secondary."

✓ The history of secondary education in America may be roughly blocked off in three divisions. The first of these, covering our colonial period, more or less, had for its characteristic type the old Latin grammar school. The latter portion of this period, from the time of the "Great Awakening" on, showed signs of transition to that which was to follow. The second period may be taken as extending from the Revolution to the Civil War, with strong indications of coming change from the days of the "Educational Revival." The characteristic secondary school of this period was the academy. The third period, down to our own time, is in an especial sense the age of the public high school.

In the American colonies, and later in the young American states, so long as their literature, science, and art continued to be dependent on that of Europe, two opposing influences may be clearly seen, shaping the higher life of the people. The first is the spirit of protest against European institutions, which many of the colonists brought with them

from their old home; the second is the ever-present instinct of imitation. The protest was as much a mark of provinciality as was the imitation. Real American institutions might be expected to develop with the development of real American nationality. In the beginning there could be only such institutions as might arise under the mingled influence of a desire to be like the mother country and a desire to be different.

It will be worth while to trace as many of the connections between our American schools and their European forerunners as we may be able to make out. These give us the lines along which institutional imitation has been at work. They bring us to a better understanding of our own schools, by showing them to us as members of a great world-family of schools.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Latin school, of one sort or another, was the common institution of secondary education in the leading countries of Europe. This school was the direct descendant of the monastic and cathedral schools of the middle ages, but had been enriched by the literary influences of the renaissance. In England, the type was represented by the old "grammar schools."

It seems hardly necessary to defend a reference to the grammar schools of Old England as the immediate prototypes of our colonial grammar schools. The claim, repeatedly urged, that Holland and not England is the true mother of early American education, has related especially to education of an elementary grade. So far as secondary schools are concerned, the evidence which has been brought to light respecting the wide extension of grammar school education in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, together with the well-known fact that many of our leading colonists were personally acquainted, as pupils or teachers or otherwise, with those English schools, seems sufficient to cover the case.¹

¹ I have come across some explicit references to English precedents in connection with the colonial grammar schools of New England and New York. A

In the Catholic portions of Europe, the educational institutions of the Jesuits were at the height of their prosperity in the seventeenth century. In addition to colleges and universities, the Society of Jesus conducted by all odds the most thoroughly organized system of Latin schools to be found anywhere. Political and ecclesiastical forces prevented any open establishment of the Society in England and the English colonies. Accordingly we find but few traces of Jesuit schools in our colonial period. Yet it cannot be doubted that the Jesuits were setting new standards for the Latin schools of continental Europe, and those standards in all likelihood exercised some sort of indirect influence on English and colonial institutions. It would take us too far afield to attempt an estimate of the extent of this influence at the time we have under consideration. Still further afield is the question how far the great Protestant preceptors of the sixteenth century, Melanchthon and Sturm, may have influenced both the Jesuit schools and the English schools of the seventeenth century. These problems are well worthy of independent consideration.

In opposition to the view that our New England colonists imitated Holland rather than England in the setting-up of their first school system, Mr. Fiske has suggested that the prompting to such educational activity came not from Holland but from Calvinism. Something like a common move-

committee of the Boston town meeting reported, March 13, 1709-10, recommending the appointment of a board of inspectors of the Free Grammar School, *i.e.*, the Latin School, "Agreeably to the Usage in England." Quoted in Mr. JENKS's *Historical sketch*, p. 32. Some forty years earlier, the state of the Hopkins Grammar School came up for discussion in the town meeting at New Haven; and parents who had been negligent about sending their boys to the school were "pressed with the custom of our predecessors and the common practice of the English nation to bring up their children in Learning." Quoted by BACON, *Hopkins Grammar School*, p. 55. The master of the grammar school at New York, in the seventeen-hundred-thirties, announced that he would receive beginners in Latin twice a year; "Tho' once a year, as the most reasonable, is the Method of the best Schools in our Mother Country (whom we will not, sure, be ashamed of for a Pattern)." *Regents' report*, 1870, p. 678.

ment in behalf of public education may be observed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, throughout the Calvinistic portions of Europe—in Scotland, in the Netherlands, and in the Protestant portions of France and Switzerland. “Obviously, then, it might be held that free schools in New England were a natural development of Calvinism, and do not necessarily imply any especially close relation with Holland.”¹ Mr. Eggleston has put forth a similar view and has worked out some of the details which it suggests. “New England,” he says, “was quite as likely to fetch a precedent from some Presbyterian country as to follow the tradition of England. She did not need to go farther than Scotland.”²

It is clear that Calvinistic ideas backed by Calvinistic examples were at work. While the early schools were like the grammar schools of England, the relation of such schools to the public that they served, in the Calvinistic colonies of New England, was something very different. Here we have the interworking of the protest with the imitation. For in Calvinism was a Protestantism endlessly protesting. This attitude not only committed those who maintained it to unremitting efforts toward improvement on the civil and religious conditions of Old England; but in particular it made education necessary for its own continuance—and more and more education. The American colonists brought other protests in plenty with them from over seas, but none that had in it larger educational implications than this standing protest of Calvinism.

We must not suppose, however, that even yet we have reached any ultimate explanation. Calvinism, like everything else, had antecedents. The man who inaugurates a new movement in human history is one who gives expression to what many have been thinking more or less clearly. He rallies about his doctrine those who, perhaps unconsciously, have been waiting for the word that he has spoken.

¹ *Dutch and Quaker colonies*, I., p. 33.

² *Transit of civilization*, p. 232. Compare his notes on pp. 266–268 of the same work.

Thus many wandering aspirations that did not know one another become an army and go forward keeping step. This is what John Calvin did, as others had done before and as others have done since. We might trace some of the most vital of his doctrines back into the middle ages, back to Augustine, and farther yet. And the educational aspirations which Calvinism so greatly quickened, we might find here and there, not wholly dormant, far back in the ages we call dark and barbarous. Such an inquiry would take away none of the true glory of Calvin and Calvinism. The reformer of Geneva did not claim that his doctrine was new. But we cannot undertake to trace its genealogy here. Another arbitrary limit must be set to our search for origins. That is what must be done in every historical inquiry, else the work undertaken would become unmanageable.

The imitations and protests of the colonists were worked out in a new field, with its new conditions and new problems. Those early Americans became less conscious after a time of their attitude toward Europe. Of more importance than their agreement or disagreement with European precedents was the efficient discharge of their own immediate responsibilities. So, little by little, an American character came into being. The Revolution greatly promoted this development, perhaps quite as much by drawing the colonies together in a new sense of responsibility at home, as by cutting them loose from outward dependence upon Europe. It is hardly necessary to add that provincialism of many sorts long survived their achievement of independence.

No one of the movements that have entered into this slow development is more interesting than the making of our modern democracy. In this movement, too, Calvinism has played no little part—a part which need not be exaggerated but cannot be ignored. In the later development of our American education, democracy has been as great a force as was Calvinism at an earlier day.

In fact, the broad, general movement of American civilization is pretty well exhibited in our successive types of

secondary school. Our Latin grammar schools were largely imitations of Europe, though even in them we find some modification made to adapt the old institution to the new environment. The academies, on the other hand, showed much less of the influence of their English prototypes, and early assumed a distinct American character. The high schools have been from the early days of their career about as thoroughly American as any institution we have yet developed.

It is imitation with which we have to do first of all, and this takes us into the story of the grammar schools of England. To make the story short, we begin in the middle, at the time of the renaissance, and touch only here and there, on things that seem worthy to be called representative.

CHAPTER II

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS OF OLD ENGLAND

IN some ways the most representative of the English grammar schools was that founded by John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, London, of which the historian Green has said: "The grammar schools of Edward the Sixth and of Elizabeth, in a word the system of middle-class education which by the close of the [sixteenth] century had changed the very face of England, were the outcome of Colet's foundation of St. Paul's." One chief reason for this preëminence of St. Paul's may be found in the fact that it was the first school established in accordance with the ideas of the New Learning—it was the first to enjoy that enrichment which came from the literary influences of the renaissance. As to its early history we have, fortunately, a fair measure of information.

It was near the beginning of the reign of Henry the Eighth that Colet entered upon the establishment of this school.¹ He erected buildings for the use of the school and its masters in St. Paul's churchyard and added an endowment that was liberal for the time, all from the private fortune left to him by his father. He placed the administration of this trust in the hands of the Master, Wardens, and Assistants of the Company of Mercers, the City of London guild to which his father had belonged. This was regarded as an unusual proceeding, but was not without parallel. The statutes drawn up for the school by Colet provided that "There shalbe taught in the scole Chil-

¹ It is doubtful whether the school was established in 1508, 1509, 1510, or 1512. See KNIGHT, *Life of Colet*, pp. 102-109.

dren of all nacions and countres indifferently to the Nounber of a cliij acording to the nounber of the Setys in the scole."¹ It was from the outset a day school and not a boarding school. The number of children to be admitted is thought to have been chosen with reference to the miracle of the fishes (John xxi. 11).² The school was dedicated to the child Jesus. "Above the headmaster's chair," says Erasmus, "is a picture of the child Christ in the act of teaching; the Father in the air above, with a scroll saying, 'Hear ye him.' These words were introduced at my suggestion."³

The admission of children was subject to the following rules:

"The mayster shal reherse these artycles to them that offer theyr chyl dren, on this wyse here followynge.

"If your chylde can rede & wryte latyn & englisshe sufficiently, soo that he be able to rede & wryte his owne lessons, than he shal be admytted into the scole for a scholer.

"If your childe after reasonable season proued be founde here vnapte & vnable to lernynge, than ye warned therof shal take hym awaye, that he occupye not here rowme in vayne.

"If he be apte to lerne, ye shal be content that he contynue here tyl he haue some competent literature.

"If he be absent vi dayes & in that mean season ye shewe not cause reasonable (reasonable cause is al onely sekenes) than his rowme to be voyde, without he be admytted agayne & paye iiij. d.

"Also after cause shewed yf he contynue so absent tyl the weke of admyssyon in the nexte quarter, & than ye shewe not the contynuaunce of his sekenes, than his rowme to be voyde and he none of the schole, tyl he be admytted agayne & paie iiij. d. for wrytinge of his name.

"Also yf he fall thryse in to absence, he shall be admytted no more.

¹ In this and the succeeding quotations in sixteenth century English, I follow the carefully edited reprints in the appendixes of LUPTON'S *Life of Colst.*

² This question is seriously discussed by LUPTON, pp. 164-166.

³ FROUDE, *Life and letters of Erasmus*, p. 98.

"Your chylde shal on childermasse daie wayte upon the bysshop at Poules and offer there.

"Also ye shal fynde hym waxe in wynter .

"Also ye shal fynde hym convenient boke to his lernynge.

"If the offerer be content with these artycles, than let his chylde be admytted."¹

Further regulations for the school show in its founder a fine mingling of the devout churchman, the humanist, and the warm-hearted friend of children. The "Statutes" begin with the words: "John Colett, the sonne of Henry Colett Dean of paules desyring nothing more thanne Educacion and bringing vpp chyldren in good Maners and litterature in the yere of our Lorde a mli fyve hundreth and twelff bylded a Scole in the Estende of paulis Church for cliij to be taught fre in the same." The purpose of the school is thus simply and broadly stated. The course of study is likewise prescribed in very broad and general terms:

"WHAT SHALBE TAUGHT."

"As towchyng in this scole what shalbe taught of the Maisters and lernyd of the scolers it passith my wit to devyse and determyn in particuler but in generall to speke and sum what to saye my mynde, I wolde they were taught all way in good litterature both laten and greke, and goode auctors such as haue the veray Romaine eliquence joyned withe wisdomes specially Cristyn auctours that wrote theyre wysdome with clene and chaste laten other in verse or in prose, for my entent is by thys scole specially to incesse knowlege and worshipping of god and oure lorde Crist Jesu and good Cristen lyff and maners in the Children And for that entent I will the Chyldren lerne first aboue all the Cathychyzon in Englysh and after the accidence that I made or sum other yf eny be better to the purpose to induce chyldren more spedely to laten spech And thanne Institutum Christiani homines which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request and the boke called Copia of the same Erasmus And thenne other auctours Christian as lactancius prudentius and proba and sedulius and Juuencus and

¹ Text as given by LURTON, Appendix B.

Baptista Mantuanus and suche other as shalbe tought conveyent and moste to purpose vnto the true laten spech all barbery all corrupcion all laten adulterate which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poyseynd the olde laten spech and the varay Romaine tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgill and Terence was vsid, whiche also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austin and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes. I say that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which more ratheyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature I vtterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole and charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is the best and instruct the chyl dren in greke and Redyng laten in Redyng vnto them suych auctours that hathe with wysdome joyned the pure chaste eloquence."

The absence of close prescription in these directions is worthy of note. It is to be observed that the spirit of humanism is clearly present, although the good Dean still hesitated to put heathen authors into the hands of the pupils. His reference to Cicero and others of the masters of classical Latin may have contained a hint that he expected a time to come when boys might be permitted to drink of Roman eloquence at the fountain head. Hazlitt understands that the "laten adulterate" which Colet would "vtterly abbanysh" is the Latin of Juvenal and Persius. It would be quite in keeping with humanistic precedents, if these anathemas were hurled against the mediæval Latin of the universities and earlier grammar schools.

Greek is touched very lightly in these statutes; but it is significant that it is mentioned at all. The suspicion of heresy still clung to that language, and it was only slowly making its way into the English universities. "The Consciousness of want of *Greek* in *Colet*," says Knight, "incited him not only to attain to some competent knowledge of it himself, but also . . . to be the Founder of the first *Greek School* in *England*."¹

Provision was made for a "hygh Maister," who "in doc-

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

trin lernyng and techyng shall direct all the scole." "A man hoole in body honest and vertuose and lernyd in the good and clene laten litterature and also in greke yf suyche may be gotten a weddid man a single manne or a preste that hath no benefice with cure nor seruyce that may lett his due besynes in the Schole." There was to be also a "Surmaister," and in case of a vacancy in the position of high master, he was to have the preference for that place. Finally, the school was to have a "Chapelyn" who should "attend allonly vpon the scole." The special religious services prescribed for the school were not onerous. In addition to the conduct of these services, the chaplain "shall teche the children the cathechyzon and Instruction of the articles of the faith and the X. commaundmentis in English."

William Lilly, well known as the author of *Lilly's grammar*, was the first master of the school. After serving in that capacity for ten years, he was succeeded in regular order by the sub-master, John Ritwyse. The securing of a suitable sub-master in the first instance was to Colet a matter of serious consideration, and became the subject of interesting correspondence between himself and Erasmus. The account which Erasmus gives of a discussion which he had with a Cambridge don regarding the dignity and usefulness of the teacher's calling, is highly edifying. Colet would gladly have made Erasmus master of his school; and expressed the hope that he would at least "give us a helping hand in teaching our teachers."¹

Seebohm finds it necessary to defend Colet against the charge of harshness in the discipline of this school. There is, at least, some evidence of a pleasing sort which goes to show that the founder took a loving interest in his boys. A Latin grammar was prepared for the use of the school. The question of the authorship of this grammar has vexed the souls of antiquarians; but that is neither here nor there. All seem to agree that the "lytell proheme to the boke"

¹ SEEBOHM, *Oxford reformers*, pp. 217-221.

was written by Colet; and this is too good to be passed unnoticed. It reads, in part, as follows:

"I haue . . . made this lytel boke, not thynkyng that I coude say any thyng beter than hath be sayd before, but I toke this besynes, hauyng grete pleasure to shewe the testymony of my good mynde vnto the schole. In whiche lytel warke yf any newe thynges be of me, it is alonely that I haue put tese partes in a more clere ordre, and haue made them a lytel more easy to yonge wyttes than (methynketh) they were before. . . . Wherefore I praye you, al lytel babys, all lytel chyldren, lerne gladly this lytel treatyse, and commende it dylygently vnto your memoryes. Trustyng of this begynnyng that ye shal procede and growe to parfyt lyterature, and come at the last to be gret clarkes. And lyfte vp your lytel whyte handes for me, whiche prayeth for you to god. To whom be al honour and imperyal maieste and glory. Amen."

It has seemed worth while to devote some little space to the beginnings of this school; for a new movement began with it, though in an uncertain and hesitating way. It introduced some little measure of the new humanism into English grammar school education. A few years later, Cardinal Wolsey's school at Ipswich went a great deal further in this direction. In its eight classes, instruction was given in such Latin authors as Terence, Cicero, Sallust, Cæsar, Vergil, Horace, and Ovid. By the seventeenth century, the grammar schools were schools of humanism as a matter of course, though much of mediævalism still clung to them, and much of their humanism was but little better.

We need not enter here upon any discussion of the question whether Colet's school was the beginning of a new movement in the establishment of schools, as well as in the conduct of schools. That subject has been handled with great frankness by Mr. Arthur F. Leach,¹ who has combated the common belief that Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were great founders of grammar schools. *Edward VI.: Spoiler of schools*, is the significant title of his first chapter

¹ *English schools at the Reformation.*

This work has, moreover, thrown a great deal of light on the whole system of late mediæval and early modern secondary education.

Mr. Leach estimates that there were, in 1546, in the neighborhood of three hundred grammar schools in England for two and one-half millions of population, or about one school for every eight thousand three hundred people. He finds evidence going to show that these schools were largely attended, their clientage being made up in the main from "the middle classes, whether country or town, the younger sons of the nobility and farmers, the lesser landholders, the prosperous tradesmen."¹ His comments on the teaching of Latin in these schools, and more particularly on the number of occupations in which Latin was needed to a greater or less extent, are highly suggestive. Latin was not only employed in diplomacy, in science, and in the learned professions; "a merchant, or the bailiff of a manor, wanted it for his accounts; every town clerk or guild clerk wanted it for his minute book. Columbus had to study for his voyages in Latin; the general had to study tactics in it. The architect, the musician, every one who was neither a mere *soldier* nor a mere handicraftsman, wanted not a smattering of grammar, but a living acquaintance with the tongue, as a spoken as well as a written language."²

The specialization of schools which the middle ages had passed on to sixteenth and even seventeenth century Eng-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 105. Mr. Leach defends the mediæval Latin of the schools, as a living language. A passage of the same general tenor may be found in PAULSEN, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, pp. 22-24. The documents reprinted in Mr. Leach's Part II. give many examples of the curious mingling of Latin and English which is so often found in sixteenth century papers. Mr. Eggleston, speaking of the seventeenth century, says, "Though the Latin service was no longer used by Protestants, and the Vulgate Bible had been dethroned by the original text, and though the main stream of English theology was by this time flowing in the channel of the mother tongue, the notion that all ministers should know Latin had still some centuries of tough life in it." *The transit of civilization*, p. 225. He gives examples of the mixture of Latin and English in a minister's diary of the eighteenth century, p. 261.

land, finds many illustrations in the documents which Mr. Leach presents. Reading schools, song schools, and Latin grammar schools are found side by side, ordinarily under different masters, though sometimes united under one management. It was no uncommon thing for the same boys to spend a part of their time in one of these schools and a part in another, vibrating between the two in the course of the day or week. Writing was taught sometimes in the reading school, sometimes in the song school, and in one instance, that of the town of Rotherham, separate provision appears for a grammar school, a song school, and a writing school.

At a later period, in the seventeenth century, this separate existence of the writing school was not unusual. One reason for such separation may be found in the fact that the various styles of penmanship then in vogue called for some considerable training and attainment of a technical sort on the part of the teacher. Besides, writing involved the use of appliances not always to be found in the primitive school-rooms of the time. The same appliances—ink and quills and some sort of desk—were needed in copying the rules of arithmetic and in setting down the steps in long calculations. This is sufficient to account for the fact that arithmetic was ordinarily studied in the writing school.

What the grammar schools had come to be by the beginning of the seventeenth century, when American colonization began, may be gathered and guessed from JOHN BRINSLEY'S *The grammar schoole*. This book, first published in 1612, is thrown into the form of a dialogue between two schoolmasters, Spoudeus and Philoponus. Spoudeus represents the ordinary practice of ordinary grammar schools, especially in country towns. Philoponus is a reformer of methods, to whom Spoudeus comes as to an old friend, for encouragement and counsel. There is an air of candor and simplicity about the whole which wins the reader's confidence; and incidental corroboration found elsewhere makes it appear reasonable to accept the representations of Spou-

deus as fairly describing the schools of the time. The improvements proposed by Philoponus, too, give many hints of the state of things which he would improve.

Boys were commonly admitted to these grammar schools at the age of seven or eight. Theoretically the schools were for those who could already read the New Testament, if they had not even made a beginning in the Latin accidence. In practice, however, nearly half of the time of the teacher was devoted to beginners, who must be taught their A B C; and these often were unable to read at all well when they had been in the school for two or three years or even more. The primer, the Psalms in metre, and the Testament, is the curriculum proposed by Philoponus for these beginners. After that he would have them enter upon the accidence.

When Latin was once begun, English was sadly neglected. "I doe not know any schoole," says Spoudeus, "wherein there is regard had hereof to any purpose." The study of numbers was even more generally overlooked. It was no uncommon thing to find scholars almost ready for the university who were not able to make out the numbers of pages, chapters, or other divisions in the books they were reading. There were few good penmen in the grammar schools, except such as had been taught by wandering scribes, "shifters," as Philoponus calls them; and these men did much harm to the cause of sound learning.

The accepted curriculum in Latin, to which the regular grammar scholar devoted nearly all of his time, was: Accidence, grammar, construing. With construing, there was parsing and the making of Latin; and this making of Latin passed through several stages, as epistles, themes, declamations (disputations), and verse. The Latin texts which Philoponus has his pupils construe are given in order, as follows: *Pueriles confabulationunculae*,¹ *Sententiae pueriles*, Cato, Corderius (dialogues), Esop's fables; "Tullies Epistles gathered by Sturmius: Tullies Offices, with the books ad-

¹ This seems to have been a collection of simple dialogues prepared by Brinsley himself.

joined to them; *de Amicitia*, *Senectute*, *Paradoxes*: Ouid *de Tristibus*, Ouids *Metamorphosis*, Virgil." Other texts spoken of as in use in the schools are: "Tullies Sentences, Aphthonius, Drax his phrases, *Flores poëtarum*, Tully *de Natura deorum*, and *Terentius Christianus*;" and to these are added, for more advanced study, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal.

English was employed in the accidence. The text-book was painfully committed to memory, without reference to the meaning of things. Meanings were to be gathered afterwards, by practice. The grammar consisted of rules of orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody, expressed in Latin; and these were "learned without book," *i. e.*, by heart, as we should say. There was more or less of construing of these rules, which would give the learner some little chance of getting at their meaning. But much of the process must have been purely Chinese. A later edition of Lilly's grammar had been made the official text-book of the realm, so boys in all schools learned the same lines. The rules in this grammar were commonly referred to by the first two or three words, like a papal bull. *As in praesenti*, or *Propria quae maribus*,¹ carried its meaning perfectly to any one trained in these schools.

Making Latin was a great bugbear to both masters and scholars. One theme a week was required in good schools. Boys were punished so much for poor work on these themes that, according to Spoudeys, they "would rather desire to goe to any base trade or drudgery than to be schollers."

The boys were required to use only Latin in all of their intercourse while at school, and devices of all sorts were employed to keep them from uttering a word of English. Conversation books, as we have seen, occupied a prominent place in the earlier stages of the school curriculum — mere practical hand-books, such as travellers now use in picking up the more necessary phrases of modern French or German.

¹ *As in praesenti perfectum format in avi. Propria quae maribus tribuuntur, mascula dicas.*

The *Colloquies* of Corderius is an example. A seventeenth century edition of this work, probably edited by the eminent scholar, Charles Hoole, is a short and thick volume of over four hundred pages. It contains a wide range of Latin conversation, together with a parallel English translation. Here is a specimen, from the beginning of the third book:

“Col. 1. One of the Scholars
and the Master

Col. 1. Unus ex Discipulis,
& Praeceptor

D. God save you, Master.

Salve, Praeceptor.

P. God save you through Jesus
Christ.

Salve per Jesum Christum.

ARE THEY ALL GOT UP?

An surrexérunt omnes?

D. All except the little ones.

Omnes praeter párvulos.

P. Is any one sick?

Numquis aegrotat?

D. None, thanks be to God.

Nemo, grátia Deo.”

After a time, the dialogue drops into confidential gossip, very similar to our modern style of The-nephew-of-my-uncle-has-bought-the-black-waistcoat-of-the-French-tailor. The following is an example:

“Col. 7. Clericus,
The Master.

Col. 7. Clericus,
Magister.

C. Master, may not I and my
uncle's son go home?

Licetne, Magister, ut ego &
patruélis eámus domum?

M. To what end?

Quid eó?

C. To my sisters daughters
wedding.

Ad nuptias consobrinae.

M. When is she to be married?

Quando est nuptúra?

C. To-morrow.

Crástino die.

M. Why will you go so quickly?

Cur tam citò vultis ire?

C. TO CHANGE OUR CLOATHS.

Ut mutémus vestimenta.”

The master, in these colloquies, is kind and paternal beyond measure, and the pupil is an impossible little prig. The heart of every real schoolboy must have rebelled against such barefaced imposture. But the dialogues let us

into many an inside view of the daily employments of the school. So far, however, as banishing the mother tongue from the schools was concerned, *Confabulatiunculae*, *Colloquia*, and *Sententiae pueriles*, and all of the rewards and punishments added thereto, generally failed, as Philoponus sorrowfully admits.

Greek is touched in Brinsley's book much more lightly than Latin. It is evident that even yet it had not settled down into a well-established course. The Greek grammar was first studied, and after that the New Testament. Parts of Isocrates, Xenophon, Plato, and Demosthenes are thought most fit for scholars in the grammar schools, after the New Testament; but it is agreed that boys will be admitted into the universities if they are well entered upon the Greek Testament. There was some attention devoted to Greek composition, but Philoponus would have little time wasted on such exercises, the ability to write Latin being much oftener called into use.

The two friends agree that too little attention was devoted in the schools to instruction in religion. Where properly looked after, this consisted of the teaching of the catechism, reports of sermons heard on Sundays, and the repetition of the Bible history.¹ Philoponus would have occasional lessons in civility given in the time commonly devoted to the history. Readings in the Bible are said to have been employed in some of the best schools to reinforce instruction in Latin and Greek, passages read in the one language being translated into the other.

So far the studies of the schools. It is admitted that their discipline is often severe and ill-regulated. Philoponus is not ready to banish the rod, but he counsels mildness. School hours are long, and holidays very few, but greater leniency in these particulars is not regarded with favor.

Taken all together, the view of the schools which the book presents is indeed depressing. No wonder that Spoudeus

¹ This is in accordance with the prescriptions of the English Canons of 1603, canon 79.

remarks at the beginning of the interview: "For my time, I haue spent it in a fruitlesse, wearisom, and an vnthankfull office I heare of some others . . . whom God blesseth greatly in this calling; though such be verie rare, some one or two spoken of almost in a whole countrey."

It is not to our purpose to devote much attention to the improvements which Philoponus proposes. They are for the most part genuine improvements; and many of them might be found realized in the better teaching of the past century, or even in the more common practice of the schools. Some, having become established, have in their turn been painfully displaced by later reforms.¹ But the call which Philoponus utters for more attention to the meaning of things — more dependence upon the understanding — sounds out in unison with the voices of educational reform through all the ages.

Brinsley devotes his book and his endeavors as a schoolmaster to the service of the Church and the Commonwealth. The Reverend Doctor Joseph Hall, in "A commendatory Preface," declares that "Our Grandfathers were so long vnder the ferule, till their beards were growne as long as their pens: this age hath descried a neerer way." And Doctor Hall rejoices in these improvements particularly in view of the alarming progress made by the schools of the Jesuits. It is necessary, in his view, that some way should be found by which English masters may outstrip the educational achievements of the Society of Jesus; and this book offers "not feete, but wings" for that purpose. Brinsley himself gives an occasional hint of his desire to make of the grammar schools a national bulwark against the danger of Roman Catholic aggression. He would have his scholars begin with the New Testament as their first Greek

¹ Brinsley warmly recommended the use of English translations of the classics studied, and in this he was followed by other seventeenth century reformers. Some of our earliest school "ponies" were prepared by these practical-minded schoolmasters. Was this all wrong? Might it not be well to use translations in good English more freely than is commonly approved in present-day teaching?

text, not only "for that eternall life is onely in these bookes, being truly vnderstood and beleueed," but also because of slanders circulated against our English translations, which "haue beene a principall meanes to turne many thousand soules, after Satan and Antichrist."

When all necessary deductions have been made, it still cannot be doubted that John Brinsley exercised a wholesome influence on the school practice of the time through this and the several other educational works which he published. He proposed to render instruction interesting to both master and scholars. He would make of the school a true *ludus literarius*, instead of the "*carnificina* or *pistrinum literarium*," which the boys too often had reason for thinking it to be. He believed that, "all schollers of any towardliness and diligence may be made absolute Grammarians, and every way fit for the Universitie, by fifteene yeeres of age." He acknowledged freely his indebtedness to "Our learnedest Schoolemaster M. Askam." For himself he says: "I . . . onely desire to learn of all the learned, to helpe the vnlearned." There is a tone of kindness running through the book, and every evidence of that lovableness always found in those who love to teach. The wilderness of English grammar schools of the seventeenth century could not have been all a waste when a few such spirits were to be found in it.

In 1678, Christopher Wase, an Oxford man, published his little book on *Free schools in England*. It was intended to answer the question, then frequently raised, "whether the English Free Grammar Schools be overproportioned to the occasions of the Church and State of England." Wase speaks as if recalling a well-known fact when he says that "there are of late Grammar Schools founded and endowed in almost every Market Town of England," in which the children of the town are to receive instruction free of charge. But he declares, on the other hand, that some counties are not well supplied with free schools in actual operation; that at the best, one may see "the maintenance

but of very few in a County, such as may vindicate Masters from being necessitous and contemptible." Many of the free grammar schools, instead of bringing up the youth in learning, "are onely Nurseries of Piety and Letters, as *preparatory to Trade.*"

He proceeds to show that these schools are not turning out more scholars than England needs. His argument is based on the assumption that a Latin training is needed for the three learned professions, and for many subsidiary callings. Some little attempt is made to give the question a definite numerical treatment, but it is evident that the statistical information which such treatment would call for was not at hand.

The objection that a preacher of the gospel needs not learning but rather the illumination of the spirit, was already abroad, and Wase undertook to answer it. "Morality," so the argument runs, "the Law written in our hearts needed not to have bin *learn'd* out of *Books*. . . But the *Doctrine of Faith* being an engrafted word, not from nature, but by culture, needed to be reveled; to be couch'd in *Holy Writt.*" In the case of the legal profession, it was commonly agreed that a knowledge of Latin was necessary, but a tendency had set in to dispense prospective lawyers from the study of poetry and of Greek. A vigorous protest is entered against this change, much of the argument being drawn from Cicero's oration in behalf of the poet, Archias.

But Christopher Wase goes on in a strain that reminds one of the nineteenth rather than the seventeenth century. It is said that the lower classes should be trained only for their calling in life; and that particularly in matters political and ecclesiastical they should simply learn to obey those set over them. He replies that, "it may be seasonable to interpose, whether there be not a Generall as well as Particular calling. All . . . ly under some Duty towards God and Man. . . . That any nation can be too universally learn'd in the law of well-living, would be . . . hard to be conceived." "It is agreed on all parts, that *Education is abso-*

lutely due to man, either as in his imperfect or corrupt estate." And again, "Kings of England have grafted upon these Policies, this conscience; that *their Subjects pay them a rational obedience: that they ground their Faith upon principles of sound knowledge.*"

Taking such high ground with regard to the place and function of education, Wase urges that those who would make gifts and bequests for the establishment of new grammar schools be not discouraged, but given all possible furtherance in so praiseworthy an enterprise. He would have schoolmasters better paid; would have the patronage of country schools annexed to the several colleges of the universities; would have these schools made so good that the gentry would find it advantageous to send their sons thither, to be taught along with the sons of the common people. The practice of "our modern Januists," who "seem in great measure *to leave Grammar and build upon Dictionary,*" does not find favor in his eyes. The writings of Comenius must have had some influence in England to have called out this protest.¹ Wase prefers the example of those English "Master builders," Ascham, Hoole, and William Walker.

He devotes a brief passage to the question of instruction in writing and numeration. The proper instruments for these studies should be provided in the grammar schools, even if a separate room is not devoted to such use. Speaking apparently of penmanship and arithmetic both together he adds: "None, I think, in these days are of opinion that the skill and practice of this Art can be too universally propagated: some may with reason fear it is by many *perverted* from its noblest end, when *employ'd to this discouragement* of other more excellent Arts and Sciences or *restrain'd* in a manner *wholly* to the service of secular advantage." ²

The large significance as well as the relative scantiness

¹ Compare the rather slighting comment of Milton in the *Tractate on Education*.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 3-11, 45-59, 66-82, 87-88, 108.

of Latin-school education in England in the later seventeenth century is well illustrated in this little academic dissertation. Thirty years before Wase wrote, a fresh and vigorous movement in secondary education was already in full progress in the American colonies; and not long after his book appeared, it took, as it were, a fresh start. We are now ready to enter upon some examination of the records of this movement.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

For several generations the standard biography of Colet was

KNIGHT, SAMUEL, D.D. The life of Dr. John Colet, Dean of S. Paul's in the reigns of K. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. and founder of S. Paul's school: with an appendix containing some account of the masters and more eminent scholars of that foundation; and several original papers relating to the said life. London, 1724.

Somewhat extended extracts from this work may be found in BARNARD'S *Am. Journ. Ed.*, xvi. A more modern account is that of

LUPTON, J. H. A life of John Colet, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's, and founder of St. Paul's School, with an appendix of some of his English writings. London: George Bell and Sons, 1887.

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Especially chapter 7.

STAUNTON, HOWARD. The great schools of England: an account of the foundation, endowments, and discipline of the chief seminaries of learning in England; including Eton, Winchester, Westminster, St. Paul's,

Charterhouse, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury, etc..
etc. London, 1865.

Also in that interesting old volume

[ACKERMANN, R.] The history of the colleges of Winchester, Eton, and Westminster; with the Charterhouse, the schools of St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors, Harrow, and Rugby, and the free-school of Christ's Hospital. London, 1816.

The lives of Colet present, in appendixes, reprints of valuable documents relating to the history of St. Paul's School. Such matter may be found also, less carefully edited, in the works of Hazlitt and Staunton referred to above.

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The value of this work is greatly enhanced by the reprint of documents relating to proceedings under the Chantries Acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., pp. 123-320. A later work by the same author, *Early Yorkshire schools*, the Yorkshire Archæological Society, 1898 (pp. 74+252), makes important additions to this study.

I cannot omit to mention one work which is of great value because of the light which it throws on the earlier educational ideals of the renaissance:

WOODWARD, WILLIAM HARRISON. Vittorino da Feltre and other humanist educators: essays and versions. An introduction to the history of classical education. Cambridge: University Press, 1897. Pp. 12+256.

Chapter 2, book 5, of GREEN's *History of the English people* gives a very helpful account of the revival of learning in England.

Of very great value in connection with this and the following chapter is —

EGGLESTON, EDWARD. The transit of civilization from England to America in the seventeenth century. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1901. Pp. 9+344.

Especially chapter the fifth, on *The tradition of education*.

Mr. Eggleston has done a good service in calling attention anew to the writings of John Brinsley. I have made use of the copies of the *Ludus literarius* found in the library of Columbia University (first edition) and in the library of the Boston Athenæum (fifth edition). The title page is nearly identical in the two. That of the first edition reads as follows:

Ludus literarius: or, the Grammar Schoole; shewing how to proceede from the first entrance into learning, to the highest perfection required in the Grammar Schooles, with ease, certainty and delight both to Masters and Schollars; onely according to our common Grammar, and ordinary Classicall Authours: Begvn to be sovght ovt at the

desire of some worthy fauourers of learning, by searching the experiments of sundry most profitable Schoolemasters and other learned, and confirmed by tryall: Intended for the helping of the younger sort of Teachers, and of all Schollars, with all other desirous of learning; for the perpetuall benefit of Church and Common-wealth. It offereth it selfe to all to whom it may doe good, or of whom it may receiue good to bring it towards perfection. London: Printed for Thomas Man, 1612. [Numbered pages, 330.]

The copy at Columbia University is bound in one volume with BRINSLEY's *The posing of the parts*, which bears the same date. This little work, of 63 numbered leaves, is an "accidence" or Latin primer arranged in questions and answers.

The copy of the *Colloquies* of Corderius which I have used is in the library of Columbia University. The title page and some of the later leaves are missing. A note in manuscript on the inside of the cover represents it as the first edition of the work in the form put forth (1653) by Charles Hoole.

There is a copy of CHRISTOPHER WASE's book in the Library of Congress. It is published anonymously, and bears the title:

Considerations concerning free-schools as settled in England.

Printed at the Theater in Oxford, and are to be had there. And in London at Mr. Simon Millers at the signe of the Star near the West end of S. Paul's Church. Anno 1678. Pp. [8] + 112.

CHAPTER III

EARLY COLONIAL GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

THE fathers of our early colonies had, many of them, been educated in the Latin schools of Old England. William Penn received his early schooling at the Chigwell Free Grammar School. Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport were schoolmates in the Coventry Free Grammar School, whence Davenport went at the age of fourteen to Oxford. Edward Hopkins had been a scholar in the Royal Free Grammar School in Shrewsbury. Roger Williams — what a wilful and lovable schoolboy he must have been! He went to Pembroke College, Cambridge, from the Charter House.

The early secondary schools of the colonies, while substantially of one type, took different names. They were called Latin grammar schools; or for short, grammar schools, like their English prototypes. Less frequently the name was shortened to Latin school. In some places they were called public schools, as are the great classical schools of England at the present time. The name free school, also in use in the mother country, was frequently employed.

There has been considerable discussion of the origin and meaning of this last-mentioned designation. The explanation which would connect it with the old Greek notion of liberal education, is without good historical foundation; though it is not unlikely that the title was sometimes employed by men of classical spirit with conscious reference to the ancient usage. Professor Basil Sollers has shown that it was commonly used merely "as a compound name indicating a certain grade of instruction, such as we would

call 'liberal,' without assigning to the adjective any descriptive force whatever."

The latest word in this discussion and perhaps the last, has been spoken by Mr. Leach. After his extended examination of the documents relating to schools affected by the Chantries Acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., he sets aside the various other interpretations which have been offered, and sums up his own conclusions in the following words: "It is impossible, if the phrase is regarded in its historical development . . . that it could have meant anything but what it was popularly supposed to mean — free from payment of tuition fees. Entrance fees, and all sorts of extras and luxuries, such as fires, light, candles, stationery, cleaning, whipping, might have to be paid for; but a free School meant undoubtedly a School in which, because of endowment, all, or some of the scholars, the poor or the inhabitants of the place, or a certain number, were freed from fees for teaching."¹

This is a clear and carefully guarded statement, and seems to be borne out by the documentary evidence presented. It should be remembered, however, that in our early colonial period, a "free school" was generally one in which school fees of one sort or another were regularly paid by all but the poorest pupils; and was, moreover, a school of secondary grade, that is, a Latin grammar school.

A melancholy interest attaches to the first colonial grammar school of which we have any record. This school was decreed by the Virginia Company of London in 1621, and was to be located at Charles City, on the James River. The colony had before this time set hopefully about the

¹ *English schools at the Reformation*, pp. 110-114. Cf. STEINER, *Education in Maryland*, p. 20, foot-note; BARNARD'S *Am. Journ. Ed.*, I., pp. 298-299, foot-notes; ADAMS, *College of William and Mary*, p. 13.

CHRISTOPHER WASE refers to the common complaint in his day that there were no free schools in England, since "tutorage" was "no where remitted." The reason which he finds for this state of affairs is that endowments, however ample at the time of their settlement, have in course of time become unequal to the decent support of schoolmasters. *Free schools in England*, p. 60.

establishment of a college. Liberal endowment was provided; but it was proposed that the erection of buildings be postponed, and that in the mean time a free school should be opened, which should prepare students for entrance upon the college studies. . A special fund was provided for that purpose.

There is evidence of the interest then felt in Virginia, in the stories of the raising of this fund. One of these should be repeated here. The Rev. Patrick Copeland, returning to England on the ship *Royall James*, after a residence of some years in India, persuaded his fellow travellers to contribute the sum of £70 "towardses some good worke to be begunn in Virginia" — away on the other side of the globe. "An unknowne person" added £30 to this sum. The money was accepted by the Company with every evidence of interest in the project. "It beinge, therefore, nowe taken into consideraçon whither a Church or a Schoole was most necessarie, and might nearest agree to the intençons of the Donors: . . . they . . . conceaued it most fitt to resolute for the erectinge of a publike free schoole . . . as that whereof both Church and Comon wealth take their originall foundaçon and happie estate, this being also like to proue a work most acceptable unto the Planters, through want whereof they haue bin hitherto constrained to their great costs to send their Children from thence hither to be taught."

In honor of its first benefactors, the proposed institution was named the "East Indy School." "It was also thought fitt that this, as a Collegiate or free school, should have dependance upon the Colledge in Virginia wch should be made capable to receaue Schollers from the schoole into such Schollershipps and fellowships of said Colledge shall be endowed withall for the aduancement of schollers as they arise by degrees and deserts in learninge." The Company seems to have set apart one thousand acres of land for the endowment of the school, and to have provided an overseer and five other persons for the management of this estate.

It was proposed that "such as send their children to this schoole should giue some benevolence unto the schoolm^r for the better encrease of his mayntenance;" and "that the planters there be stirred up to put their helping hands towards the speedy buildinge of the said schoole," with the assurance that "those that exceed others in their bounty and Assistance hereunto shal be priuileged with the preferment of their Children to the said schoole before others that shall be found less worthie." Immediate steps were taken to send out a schoolmaster. But these hopeful beginnings were interrupted by the terrible Indian massacre of 1622, in which more than three hundred of the colonists lost their lives, followed by the fall of the Virginia Company, in 1624. We have no certain evidence that the school was ever opened.¹

The attempt made a little later to establish a free school in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, was more fortunate; and the resulting institution still lives and thrives, after more than a quarter millennium of honorable service. The Boston Latin School is a child of the town meeting. It was "born at sunrise," to use the words of Phillips Brooks, "dating its life from the days when an order of things, which is to exist for a long time in the world, is in the freshness of its youth."² The bare record which has come down to us does not tell much of the relation of the school to that order of things; but this will appear in some measure as we get farther on.

On the "13th of the 2d moneth 1635" — the twenty-third of April, by our reckoning, five years after the settlement of

¹ The documentary history of this school is found in NEILL, *History of the Virginia Company of London*, pp. 251-257. The events recorded took place during the second year of the Earl of Southampton's directorship, in the period in which an enlightened statesmanship was dominant in the affairs of the Virginia Company. Patrick Copeland seems to have been a man always engaged in "some good worke." He was at one time appointed Rector of the proposed college in Virginia. At a later time he was interested in a scheme for the establishment of a college in the Bermuda Islands, which should serve, at least in part, the needs of Virginia. It will be remembered that long after this Bishop Berkeley was interested in a similar scheme.

² *The oldest school in America*, p. 15.

Boston — the citizens of that town voted, "that our brother Philemon Pormont, shalbe intreated to become scholemaster, for the teaching and nourtering of children with us."¹ This brother is a shadowy figure in the dim annals of those times. There are several variant spellings of his name. It is not known to a certainty that he ever became the scholemaster of the town, as he was intreated, but it is probable that he opened the proposed school, and that he taught Latin in it from the start. Two or three years after the vote recorded above, he was concerned in the controversy stirred up by Mrs. Hutchinson; and he was one of the party of Mrs. Hutchinson's adherents who went out into the wilds of New Hampshire, and founded the town of Exeter. Not many years later he was back in Boston.

The first indication that appears of any provision for the support of this school is found in the record of a "general meeting of the richer inhabitants," held August 12, 1636. At this meeting, a subscription was made "towards the maintenance of a free school master for the youth with us, Mr. Daniel Maud being now also chosen thereunto." The governor, Sir Harry Vane, contributed ten pounds, and the deputy governor, John Winthrop, an equal amount. There are forty-three other names on the list, and the sum total comes up to £40 6s.² It is not known whether Mr. Maud was made assistant or successor to Philemon Pormont; probably the latter. He was a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. A garden plot was assigned to him the following year. The names of other early schoolmasters have

¹ *Second report of the record commissioners of the City of Boston*, pp. 4-5. This meeting was highly characteristic of the old town system. In addition to the vote relating to the school, three other items of business were disposed of: The pastor, Mr. John Wilson, was given liberty to improve a certain tract of land; a rate of five shillings a head was fixed for the keeping of dry cattle until the following November; and it was generally agreed, "that our brother Richard Fairbanke, shalbe intreated to take the Cowes to keeping that are upon the necke; and in case he cannot then our brother, Thomas Wardall, to be intreated thereunto."

² *Second report of the record commissioners*, p. 160, foot-note.

been preserved, but they are little more than names down to the year 1670. Then begins the long and glorious reign of Ezekiel Cheever, and with it the real history of the school.

It has been claimed that the Rev. John Cotton, who came to New England in 1633, was the determining factor in the establishment of this school, and the claim would seem to have a pretty good foundation. Cotton had already made a great reputation as a preacher in the Boston of Old England, and there he had been closely identified with the management of the free grammar school established by Queen Mary in 1554. Immediately on his arrival in this country he took a leading part in the affairs of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. His name appears on the subscription list for the support of a schoolmaster, though with only a dash after it. In his will, he provided that, under certain contingencies, one-half of his estate should revert to Harvard College and the other half be devoted to the support of the free school in Boston (Massachusetts).¹

Public provision was made at an early day for the support of the school. The General Court of Massachusetts had granted to the town of Boston several of the islands in Boston harbor. In 1641 the town set apart one of these, Deer Island, for the maintenance of the free school. In 1649, two others, Long and Spectacle Islands, were set apart for the same purpose. There are numerous entries in the town records referring to the rent of these islands. For a single example, in 1644, Deer Island was rented for three years at £7 a year, for the benefit of the school.² Another public appropriation for the same object was made in 1649, when five hundred acres of land belonging to the town and situated at Braintree were disposed of by a perpetual lease, at a rental of forty shillings a year "for the school's use."³

¹ The argument, presented by the Rev. Robert C. Waterston to the Massachusetts Historical Society in February, 1873, is reproduced in full by Mr. JENKS in his *Historical sketch*. Cf. *Proc. Mass. Historical Society*, 1871-1873, pp. 386-391.

² *Second report of the record commissioners*, p. 82.

³ *Id.*, p. 95.

In addition to all this, we find occasional reference to bequests for the benefit of the school, from which it realized some small increase of its resources. It is not clear that tuition fees were charged in the earlier days; but in 1679 a recommendation was passed that such patrons of the school as were able to pay something should make contributions for the encouragement of the master. At the same time it was expressly provided that Indian children should be taught gratis.¹

We find this institution marked, from these early beginnings, by two clear characteristics: It was a town school, and it prepared boys for admission to Harvard College. These facts have been pointed out with pride by eminent Latin School boys. "It may be merely a fancy of mine," says Edward Everett Hale, "that the destinies of Boston have been largely affected by the establishment here in 1635 of what they called a 'Grammar School,' and by the loyalty and pride by which that School has always been maintained. But I think this fancy will bear examination."² "It represented," said Phillips Brooks in his anniversary address, "the fundamental idea of the town undertaking the education of her children."³ And again: "It was the classic culture in those earliest days that bound the Latin School and Harvard College close together. The college is young beside our venerable school. It did not come to birth till we were four years old. But when the college had been founded, it and the school became, and ever since have made, one system of continuous education."⁴

Other Massachusetts towns, as if moved by a common impulse, soon took action similar to that of Boston. Charlestown, in June, 1636, agreed with Mr. William Witherell "to keep a school for a twelvemonth." He was to receive £40 for the year. Lovell's Island was granted to the town

¹ JENKS, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

² Article on *The higher life of Boston*, in *The Outlook*, liii., no. 13, March 28, 1896.

³ *The oldest school in America*, p. 25.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 38.

by the General Court, and was leased for the benefit of the school. In 1647, the rental of the island was five pounds, and fifteen pounds additional was raised by a town rate; "also, the town's part of the Mistic weir for the School forever." In 1659, the General Court granted the town one thousand acres of land for the benefit of the grammar school.¹ Ezekiel Cheever was master of this school from 1661 to 1670; and Benjamin Thompson, another celebrated teacher, was engaged in 1671, at thirty pounds per annum.²

Of Ipswich, it is recorded that, in 1636, "A Grammar School is set up, but does not succeed." But in 1651, certain town lands were turned over to trustees for the benefit of a grammar school, and later the school was endowed with certain lands by Robert and William Paine. This is another of the spots where Ezekiel Cheever tarried and taught on his way to the Boston Latin School. He was master in Ipswich for ten years, 1651-1661, and here he built a barn and planted an orchard.³

In 1637, the Rev. John Fisk opened a school in Salem; and in 1640, at "A generall towne meeting, yong Mr. Norris [was] chose by this assembly to teach schoole." This Mr. Norris seems to have taught for more than thirty years in Salem. The town was deeply interested in education. Even before a grammar school is mentioned in the records, reference is made to a project "for the building of a colledge;" and later records show repeated appropriations in aid of Harvard College.⁴

Dorchester, wonderfully enterprising town that it was in many ways, voted on the twentieth of May, 1639, old style, "that there shall be a rent of 20lb a year for ever imposed vpon Tomsons Island . . . towards the maynte-

¹ *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*, iv., part 1, p. 400.

² BARNARD'S *Am. Journ. Ed.*, xxvii., p. 127; the same repeated, *Am. Journ. Ed.*, xxviii., p. 134.

³ FELT, *History of Ipswich*, pp. 83-84. HAMMATT, *The grammar school at Ipswich*.

⁴ JOSEPH B. FELT, in *Am. Journ. Ed.*, xxvii., p. 97 ff.

nance of a schoole in Dorchester. This rent of 20lb yearly to bee payd to such a schoole-maste^r as shall vnder-take to teach english, latine, and other tongues, and also writing. The said schoole-maste^r to bee chosen from tyme to tyme p^r the freemen." Thompson's Island was lost to the town in a suit at law in 1648; but the loss was made good by a grant of one thousand acres of land elsewhere, from the General Court, afterwards confirmed by the provincial government. In the mean time the school went on, and in 1645 the town introduced the innovation of a school committee, to have charge of its affairs. It was ordered, in town meeting, "that three able and sufficient men of the Plantation shalbe chosen to bee wardens or ou^rsee^{rs} of the Schoole, who shall haue the Charge, ou^r-sight and ordering thereof, and of all things Concerning the same."

"So far as is known," said Dr. William A. Mowry, in 1889, "this committee of 'Wardens or overseers' was the first school committee appointed by any municipality in this country."¹ With somewhat less of certainty it is claimed by various writers that the school is the "first public school in the world supported by direct taxation or assessment on the inhabitants of the town."²

At Newbury, in 1639, "foure akers of upland" and "sixe akers of salt marsh" were granted to Anthony Somerby "for his encouragement to keepe schoole for one yeare." In 1652 a town rate of twenty pounds a year was voted for the master, a school committee was appointed, and some sign given of a stirring of conscience in the matter of a school house. The next year the town rate was raised to twenty-four pounds, but it was decided that the school should be kept at the meeting house.³

The early history of the grammar school at Cambridge, is

¹ *Dorchester celebration*, p. 30.

² Quoted *Id.*, p. 21. A competent public commission appointed some years ago in Massachusetts to set at rest the question where the first free public school came into being, was unable to arrive at any final answer, for lack of clear documentary evidence.

³ COFFIN, *History of Newbury*, pp. 32, 56-57.

the history of that famous master, Elijah Corlett. "The Edifice [of Harvard College]," according to that old pamphlet, *New England's first fruits*, "is very faire and comely within and without. . . . And by side of the Colledge a faire *Grammar Schoole*, for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting them for *Academicall Learning*, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole. Master *Corlet* is the Mr., who hath very well approved himselfe for his abilities, dexterity and painfullnesse in teaching and education of the youth under him."

This was in 1643. How much earlier Corlett was there we do not know, but he continued in the service till his death in February, 1686-7. He had few students, some of them Indians, and he was "very poor." But the General Court made a grant of two hundred, and later five hundred, acres of land for his relief; and Cotton Mather joined his name with that of Ezekiel Cheever, in a couplet that has been much worn by repetition.¹ The General Court, moreover, coupled Cambridge with Charlestown in an act, already referred to, granting to each of those towns one thousand acres of land for the support of a grammar school.²

"The Free Schoole in Roxburie" is one of the most important of these early foundations. It was established in 1645 under an agreement entered into by numerous citizens. The text of this old covenant has been preserved:

"Whereas, the Inhabitantes of Roxburie, in consideration of their relligious care of posteritie, have taken into consideration how necessarie the education of theire children in Literature will be to fitt them for public service, both in Church and Commonwealthe, in succeeding ages. They therefore unanimously have consented and agreed to erect a free schoole in the said Towne of Roxburie, and to allow Twenty pounds per annum to the Schoolemaster, to bee raised out of the Messuages and part of the Lands of the severall donors (Inhabitantes of the said Towne) in severall pro-

¹ See p. 112.

² *Records of Massachusetts*, iv., pt. 1, pp. 397, 400. Cf. PAIGE, *History of Cambridge*, pp. 365-369.

portions as hereafter followeth under their hands. And for the well ordering thereof they have chosen and elected some Feoffees who shall have power to putt in or remove the Schoolemaster, to see to the well ordering of the schoole and schoolars, to receive and pay the said twenty pounds per annum to the Schoolemaster, and to dispose of any other gifte or giftes which hereafter may or shall be given for the advancement of learning and education of children. . . .

"In consideration of the premises, the Donors hereafter expressed for the severall proportions or annuities by them voluntarily undertaken and underwritten, Have given and granted and by these presents doe for themselves their heires and Assignees respectively hereby give and grant unto the present Feoffees . . . the severall rents and summes hereafter expressed under their hands. . . . To have and to hold receive and enjoy the said annual rents or summes to the only use of the Free Schoole in Roxburie."

So run the opening paragraphs.

The half-public, half-private character of this movement is noteworthy. By mutual agreement, a large part, perhaps all, of the householders of the town imposed upon their property a permanent burden, much in the nature of a public tax, for the support of a school. In 1666 it was proposed that the whole town as then constituted "come in and join in this work;" but a town meeting, held to consider this proposal, was productive of much talk "and nothing done."

A teacher was employed for the year 1650 — the first of which there is record — at a salary of twenty-two pounds. The school received various gifts from time to time. Mr. Thomas Bell, who had been a freeman of the town, but had returned to London after some years in the colony, died in 1671, leaving to a board of trustees nearly two hundred acres in Roxbury "to and for the maintenance of a schoolemaster and free schoole for the teaching and instructing of poore mens children at Roxbury." This valuable endowment was doubtless intended for the benefit of the school already established, and was so employed.

John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, was teaching elder of the church in Roxbury, and one of the first trustees of the Bell endowment. He was one of the most zealous promoters of education in the colony. Cotton Mather wrote of him :

“A Grammar-School he would always have, upon the Place, whatever it cost him ; and he importun'd all other Places to have the like. I can't forget the *Ardour* with which I once heard him pray, in a *Synod* of these Churches, which met at Boston to consider, *How the Miscarriages which were among us might be prevented* ; I say with what Fervour he uttered an Expression to this purpose, *Lord, for Schools every where among us ! That our Schools may flourish ! That every Member of this Assembly may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the Town where he lives ! That before we die, we may be so happy as to see a good School encouraged in every Plantation of the Country.* God so blessed his Endeavors, that *Roxbury* could not live quietly without a *Free School* in the Town ; and the Issue of it has been one thing, which has made me almost put the Title of *Scola Illustris* upon that little Nursery ; that is, that *Roxbury* has afforded more *Scholars*, first for the *College*, and then for the *Publick*, than any Town of its Bigness, or if I mistake not, of twice its Bigness, in all *New England*.”¹

So these seven or eight little pioneer towns got their grammar schools started within the first sixteen years that the Massachusetts Bay Colony was in existence. After this the General Court of the Colony took a hand in the movement, and provided that all of the larger towns should do what had been so well done by these more advanced communities. The account of such colonial action belongs to another part of this story.

There is a fine sense of free initiative in the way those early towns set about the erection of schools. No two were wholly alike in the action taken ; yet all agreed in the

¹ *Magnalia*, etc., book 3, p. 187 in the original edition. For the *Roxbury* school in general, see DILLAWAY, “*The free schoole of 1645 in Roxburie*.”

determination to have schools — the best that they could make. One misses the real human interest of these Puritan undertakings, in failing to see the creative joy which possessed the Puritan spirit. No artist of any age has painted his picture or shaped his statue with more of the sheer delight of making than these sombre men enjoyed in establishing a new civil and ecclesiastical polity, in organizing new towns and setting up new schools.

They were men of a renaissance which had not yet spent its force. Every renaissance is a new-born devotion to the standards of excellence set up in some former age, when our civilization rose, wave-like, to some crest of perfected achievement. What we call *The Renaissance* brought forth a new enthusiasm for the literatures of old Greece and Rome. But the renaissance led by Luther and Calvin brought forth a no less devoted enthusiasm for the old Hebrew and Christian literatures. If the pagan renaissance was more beautiful, the Christian renaissance was more moral. The two were divergent enough at many points. Our colonial Puritans were often neglectful of beauty; but they were capable of that same glorious inconsistency with which the Church in other formative epochs has made the pagan world her schoolmaster, to bring men to Christ. So they set up schools that were at once Christian and classical. Like all true men of the renaissance they wrought, to the best of their ability, in the spirit of a golden age long past; but with much unsuspected influence from the age in which they lived, and with open and honest endeavor to build for ages yet to come. And like all makers from the beginning, they looked upon their work and saw that it was good.

It is not to be supposed that the establishment of schools by towns was an altogether new thing in the history of the world. The sense of municipal responsibility for the support of schools may be found well back in the middle ages. The early appearances of this spirit in Scotland, and in the German cities, have been brought to light in a number of scholarly investigations. It has been shown, too, that a

like spirit was present in the old English towns. If the ancient Germanic communities did not set up schools, they did provide for the keeping of the cows; and we find these two interests jostling each other in the early history of Boston.

It would be tedious to go on telling much of the early history of one colonial school after another; but enough must be told to show how the beginnings were made in the several colonies, in order that we may catch some general view of the relation of this type of education to the colonial life. And next, Connecticut, which stands in the closest spiritual sympathy with Massachusetts.

We meet Ezekiel Cheever at the very beginning, in New Haven Colony. At a general court, held "the 25th of 12th Mon: 1641, [March 7, 1642, by our reckoning] . . . Itt is ordered thatt a free schoole shall be sett vp in this towne, and o^r pasto^r Mr. Davenport, together wth the magistrates shall consider whatt yearly allowance is meete to be given to itt out of the comō stock of the towne, and allso whatt rules and orders are meet to be observed in and about the same." Mr. Cheever was made master of this school; and here he continued until 1650, when he removed to Ipswich, doubtless because of a church censure passed upon him in 1649 on account of "his contradicting, stiff, and proud frame of spirit."¹

Of the remaining four towns included within the New Haven Colony, Guilford was not later than 1646 in establishing a school; and by 1657 Milford had "made provision in a comfortable way." It does not appear whether these

¹ There is some confusion in current accounts of this early school at New Haven. The records seem to indicate pretty plainly that a grammar school was first established by the vote of February 25, 1641-2, as given above, and that this school was in continuous existence, as a grammar school, for some years thereafter. See *Records of the colony and plantation of New Haven*, I., pp. 30, 62, 210. Various other interpretations of the record may be found in BARNARD'S *Am. Journ. Ed.*, I., p. 298; *Rep't Com'r of Ed.*, 1892-93, p. 1243 (Professor HINSDALE'S account); and STEINER, *Education in Connecticut*, pp. 15-16.

schools were of a higher grade, or merely for beginners. But in 1660, their means not being adequate to the maintenance of a grammar school in each plantation, the towns united in the establishment of a "colony grammar school." This school continued for only two years.

In both Hartford and New Haven there is some evidence of the existence of schools as early as 1639. Certain it is that Hartford in 1642 made an appropriation to a town school. The town records show that, December 6, "It is agreed that thurte pownd a yeer shall be seatled vpon the scoole by the towne for efer." Furthermore, "At a ginerall Toune metting in Apriell 1643 It was ordered y^t m^r Androwes Sholld teach the children in the Scoole one yere nextt en-sewing from the 25th of march, 1643, & y^t he Shall haue for his paynes 16^l & tharefore the Tounsmen Shall go & inquier who will ingeage them Selues to Send thare childeren & all y^t do So Shall pay for one Querter at the leaste & for more if thay do send them after the pportion of twenty shilings the yeare." The town made provision for those whose parents were unable to pay; "or if The ingagmentes com not to Sixtene poundes then thay Shall pay w^t is wanting at the Tounes Charges."¹ It does not appear why the town, in selecting Master Andrews, receded from the earlier vote settling thirty pounds a year forever on the school.

We come now to the story of the Hopkins bequest, which greatly furthered the development of secondary education in Connecticut, and to a less degree in Massachusetts. Edward Hopkins, a London merchant of large business capacity, was son-in-law to Theophilus Eaton, and a close personal friend of the Rev. John Davenport. He came to New England, and was among the earliest settlers of Hartford. Evidently he was a man of very high character, and personally likable. He was repeatedly elected governor of Connecticut Colony; and in his private affairs he was prospered, as frontier prosperity went. Family concerns recalled him to England, where he was honored with important offices under

¹ *Hartford town votes*, I., pp. 63, 65.

the commonwealth. It had been his intention to return to America, but this was prevented by his untimely death in March, 1657-8. The property which he had acquired in New England he bequeathed to New England. A portion of it went to individuals, but the greater part was committed to trustees, "in full assurance of their trust and faithfulness in disposing of it according to the true intent and purpose of me, the said Edward Hopkins, which is, to give some encouragement in those foreign plantations for the breeding up of hopeful youths, both at the grammar school and College, for the public service of the country in future times." The trustees were four in number: two New Haven men and two of Connecticut Colony. The controlling power in this board was undoubtedly the Rev. John Davenport of New Haven.

It was, perhaps, the dearest wish of John Davenport's heart to see not only a grammar school but a college as well established in that little frontier hamlet of New Haven. And the Hopkins bequest lent new hope to this project. But the greatness of such a scheme did not fit the straitened circumstances of the little colony, and it was reluctantly given up. Some part of the income from the trust fund was bestowed on the colony grammar school during its short career.

A great church quarrel at Hartford, which affected the whole public policy of Connecticut Colony, was all this time causing delay in the final settlement of the bequest. Both of the Hartford trustees were in the party of the opposition in this quarrel, and that party contemplated pulling out of Connecticut and going off to make a settlement elsewhere. This plan was finally carried out, and the new settlement was established at Hadley. At length, in 1664, an agreement with reference to the Hopkins matter was reached and the trust was distributed as follows: £400 was given to Hartford, £412 to New Haven, and £308 to Hadley, for the support of schools, and £100 to Harvard College.

Governor Hopkins had made a separate bequest of £500,

which should come into the hands of the same trustees for the same purpose, on the death of his wife. That unfortunate woman had been given to much reading and writing, and her husband, "being very loving and tender of her," as the elder Winthrop remarked, had indulged her in these unwomanly occupations. As a result, her mind had become deranged; and it was her further misfortune to outlive her gentle husband more than forty years. By that time, the original trustees were all dead and gone. Their successors seem to have made some feeble attempt to secure the five hundred pounds, but nothing came of the effort. Then the new Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which was setting up schools in the colonies, sought to have it entrusted to them. At this stage of proceedings, the authorities of Harvard College took energetic measures which led to the following result: That a decree in Chancery was secured, in 1712, making over this fund, with accrued interest, to a new board of trustees, for the joint benefit of Harvard College and the Cambridge Grammar School. To this day, Connecticut men speak with admiration, not unmixed with other feeling, of the successful strategy which captured this prize for Cambridge.¹

The administration of the original Hopkins fund may be described in few words. The share assigned to New Haven was devoted to the support of a grammar school, the trustees having made it over to the town for that purpose. The Hopkins Grammar School at New Haven has had a highly useful career, now nearly two hundred and forty years in length.²

Hartford voted, in 1664, to place the administration of its portion of the fund in the hands of a committee of five. This committee had full discretionary power, but the town reserved the right to limit them by instructions from time

¹ *History of the Hopkins fund, grammar school, and academy in Hadley*; BACON, *The Hopkins Grammar School*. Cf. BARNARD, *History of common schools in Connecticut*; STEINER, *History of education in Connecticut*; HINSDALE, *Documents illustrative of American educational history*.

² BACON, *op. cit.*

to time. A free school was accordingly established on the Hopkins foundation in 1665. During a large part of its earlier history, this seems to have been hardly more than a primary school.¹

In 1669, the town of Hadley, in accordance with the proposal of Mr. Goodwin, one of the original trustees, committed the management of her portion of the fund to a standing committee of five, who were empowered to fill vacancies in their own number. Membership in this committee was no sinecure, for the town had ideas of its own and sought to drive the committee in ways that it would not go. There had been a school in Hadley from 1665, for the benefit of which the town had set apart "two little meadows, next beyond the brook." This endowment also came under the control of the committee of five. The property was improved by building a mill alongside of the brook; and that mill ground out a grist of trouble for the committee and the town. In spite of everything, a classical school of fair grade seems to have been maintained during the greater part of the colonial period.²

✓ In Rhode Island, one hundred acres were set apart by vote of the colony, in 1640, "for a school for encouragement of the poorer sort, to train up their youth in learning." This school was located at Newport, and seems to have been in existence down to 1774. Similar provision was made in 1663 for the town of Providence.³

✓ Grammar school education in Virginia did not go down once for all with the failure of the East India School. Benjamin Syms, a planter of that colony, is distinguished as "the first of emigrant Englishmen to bequeath an educational endowment after the pattern set by English philanthropists in the ages before him."⁴ By his will, made

¹ *Triennial catalogue of the Hartford Public High School*; article, *The Hopkins bequest at Hartford*, in *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVIII., p. 185 ff.

² JUDD, *Hopkins school at Hadley*, in *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVIII., p. 145 ff. Cf. *History of the Hopkins fund, grammar school and academy in Hadley*.

³ TOLMAN, *Higher education in Rhode Island*.

⁴ EGGLESTON, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

February 12, 1634-5, he left two hundred acres of land, together with a herd of eight milch cows, to found a free school in Elizabeth County. The land thus devised was located on the Poquoson, a small river flowing into Chesapeake Bay, a mile or less below the mouth of York River. The school was intended for the instruction of the children of the parishes of Elizabeth City and Kiquotan. The Virginia Assembly, in March, 1642-3, passed an act confirming this grant. One writing from Virginia in 1647 speaks in terms of enthusiasm of this foundation, and represents the herd as having then increased to forty milch cows. Thomas Eaton, probably at some time previous to 1646, endowed another school with 250 acres of land in this same region, "at the head of Back river within a mile of the wading place, joining to the beaver dams." This grant received legislative sanction in 1730. The Syms and Eaton endowments were finally consolidated, and the income therefrom is now devoted to the support of the Hampton High School.

Capt. John Moon, by will proved in 1655, gave four cows for educational and charitable purposes, and a free school seems to have arisen on this foundation in Newport parish, Isle of Wight County. Henry King, in 1668, bequeathed one hundred acres of land in the same county "for the maintainance of a free school." Henry Peasley, in 1675, endowed a free school in Gloucester County, for the benefit of Abingdon and Ware parishes. This foundation consisted of six hundred acres of land, ten cows, and one breeding mare. Several slaves were added later by other donors.

No account of secondary education in Virginia could possibly pass over the many-times-quoted saying of Governor Berkeley. The Lord Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, in 1671, had propounded to him several inquiries, among them being the following: "What course is taken about the instructing the people within your government in the Christian religion?" To this the rough-spoken governor replied, "The same that is taken in England out of towns; every

man according to his own ability instructing his children. . . . But, I thank God, there are no free schools and printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into this world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"

Of the many commentaries on this report which have appeared, perhaps the most sane and suggestive is that offered by the editor of the *William and Mary College Quarterly*. "The facts," he says, "prove that Berkeley could not have meant that there were no schools in the colony, or no schools giving *gratuitous* instruction (as is understood now by the term *free*). As 'free school' then signified a school affording a liberal education, perhaps he did not choose to regard the Syms or Eaton school as coming up to this standard, since they aspired to little beyond teaching the 'three R's.' He had in mind such a school as Eton or Harrow, or the colleges at the universities in England. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that, eleven years before (in 1660), the colonial Assembly had passed an act for the founding of 'a college and free schoole,' to which object Berkeley, the council, and the members of the General Assembly all subscribed. This free school had not materialized as expected, and it was certainly its failure that was uppermost in Berkeley's mind when he said, in 1671, that there were no free schools in Virginia."¹

The hoped-for college was finally established by charter obtained from William and Mary in February, 1692-3. This was first opened as a grammar school, and so continued for many years. Then it expanded into a highly useful and influential college. The real history of secondary and higher education in Virginia dates from this foundation,

¹ *Education in colonial Virginia*, Part III., in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, VI., p. 83. Even this interpretation does not explain Berkeley's pious wish that they may have no free schools for a hundred years. Why not at this point fall back on the simple supposition that Berkeley, like many other men, was inconsistent, especially when he came to the intoxicating occupation of writing an official report!

which was of incalculable value to the higher life of the southern colonies.

It appears, then, that in spite of plantation life, so generally unfavorable to the building up of schools, there were lovers of learning in our oldest colony, and the seeds of literary culture were planted there. Yet Mr. Eggleston is justified in his shrewd comment on the Virginia situation: "The College of William and Mary did not get under way until the last years of the seventeenth century; there was no bishop on this side of the sea to induct men into holy orders; the primitive statecraft of the colony needed no other tongue than the vernacular, aided occasionally by Indian interpreters, so that the free Latin school of early Virginia was a short ladder with nothing but empty space at the top of it. Latin was studied merely as a gentleman's accomplishment."¹

The West India Company, as early as 1629, issued a decree requiring the patroons and colonists of New Netherland to "endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may supply a minister and schoolmaster." The establishment of schools and the appointment of schoolmasters seem to have depended on joint action of the Company and the Classis (Presbytery) of Amsterdam. An elementary school was established in 1633 in connection with the church at New Amsterdam.² In 1658 we find an effort making to secure a school of higher grade. The West India Company first suggested such a step to the Director General of the colony. Then the burgomasters and schepens sent back a petition, in which, after some reference to "the great augmentation of the youth in the Province," it is represented

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 222. Cf. MR. FISKE's account of early education in Virginia in *Old Virginia and her neighbors*, II., pp. 245-253, and the articles in the *William and Mary College Quarterly* already referred to. The statutory history of the schools is to be found in the volumes of HENING's *Statutes*, and in the reprints given by MISS CLEWS.

² This school is still flourishing and is probably entitled to the designation "The oldest school in America." In recent years, it has added classes of secondary grade, so that it now prepares boys for college.

that "the burghers and inhabitants are . . . inclined to have their children instructed in the most useful languages, the chief of which is the Latin tongue; and as there are no means to do so here, the nearest being at Boston, in New England, a great distance from here, . . . we . . . humbly request your Honors would be pleased to send us a suitable person for master of a Latin school, . . . not doubting but were such a person here, many of the neighboring places would send their children hither to be instructed in that tongue; hoping that, increasing from year to year, it may finally attain to an Academy, whereby this place arriving at great splendor, your Honors shall have the reward and praise, next to God the Lord who will grant his blessing to it."

The petition was granted, and Alexander Carolus Curtius, a Lithuanian schoolmaster, was engaged for the new school, at a salary of five hundred florins a year. Curtius appeared before the burgomasters July 4, 1659. The city promptly added two hundred florins a year to his salary, and after some haggling about further additions, the school was begun. But all did not go smoothly. The new rector, for so he was called, got into a lawsuit, which turned on the question whether he was to pay five beavers or only two beavers and two blankets for a hog that he had bought. The burgomasters reprimanded him for taking one beaver per quarter from the boys, instead of the six guilders they had authorized. The parents complained that there was no proper discipline in his school. The boys "beat each other and tore the clothes from each others' backs." The rector was able to retort that "his hands were tied, as some of the parents forbade him punishing their children." But at last, in 1661, he was dismissed, and the Rev. Ægidius Luyck was installed in his place.

The new master was a man of a different sort. He soon brought the attendance in the school up to twenty, two of that number coming from Virginia and two from Fort Orange (Albany). After the capture of the city by the

English, this school is said to have been continued for about eight years. There was no public Latin school on Manhattan Island thereafter, and probably none in the colony of New York, until the following century.¹

During the governorship of Thomas Dongan, however, the Jesuit Fathers Harvey and Harrison opened an institution known as the New York Latin School, which probably flourished for several years. It came to an end with the fall of King James and of the Roman Catholic governor, in 1688; and no other Catholic school appears in New York till after the Revolutionary War.²

We find reference to a private school of this grade, kept by Mr. David Jamison, who had been liberally educated in Scotland. He appeared in New York as a "redemptioner," probably some time in the sixteen-eighties. His services were secured by some of the chief men of the place, who "set him to teach a lattin school, which he attended for some time with great industry and success."³ Jamison later rose to colonial distinction, becoming Secretary of the Province, and Chief Justice of New Jersey.

Plymouth Colony did not make its beginning till 1670, when the general court set apart the income from the Cape Cod fisheries — mackerel, bass, and herring — for the support of a free school. In accordance with this provision, a school was established at Plymouth.⁴

The strange medley of nationalities and religions in Pennsylvania gave promise of interesting educational developments. This promise was fulfilled in later days, but the beginnings were made painfully. The proprietary government proposed at the outset to "erect and order all public schools." But this advanced position was soon abandoned.

¹ PRATT, *Annals of public education*, in the Report of the Regents of the State of New York for 1869, pp. 833, 834, 852-857, 862-865, 886.

² CONSIDINE, *Catholic educational institutions in the Archdiocese of New York*, pp. 7-8.

³ Governor Hunter to the Lords of Trade. Quoted by PRATT, *Annals of public education*, Eighty-third report of the Regents, p. 670.

⁴ *Plymouth colony records*, V., pp. 107-108.

Even before the grant to William Penn, there were Quakers in the territory which was to become Pennsylvania, and some of these were taking thought for education beyond that of elementary grade. George Fox, as early as 1667, advised the setting up of a school for boys at Waltham Abbey, in Essex County. Here three years later, Christopher Taylor, a Friend, who is said to have been a profound scholar, opened a classical school. He was, however, soon brought before a magistrate on the charge of teaching without a certificate from the Bishop of London, after which he returned to England. At a later date we find him receiving a grant of five thousand acres of land from the Proprietary, and setting up a school on "Tinicum, *alias* College Island," where he died in 1686. Mr. Wickersham says of this Tinicum Island school, established in 1684, that it "was without doubt the first school of high grade in Pennsylvania."¹

It is said that William Penn, in 1689, directed the President of the Council of Pennsylvania to set up a public grammar school in Philadelphia, promising to incorporate it at some later time. A school was established in that year by leading Friends, which was open to children of all denominations. George Keith was called from Freehold, New Jersey, to be the master. He was a Friend, a learned man, who had had experience as a schoolmaster in the mother country. Later he turned against the Quakers and became the first American agent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His salary as master in Philadelphia was fifty pounds a year, together with all the profits of the school, and a house was provided for his family. He was to receive a much higher salary the second year; but he met with indifferent success, and was succeeded at the end of the first year by his usher, Thomas Makin. Something like forty years after his first appearance in the school, we find Thomas Makin writing a Latin poem descriptive of Philadelphia. In 1733, then an old man and very poor, he

¹ WICKERSHAM, *Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 26-28, 81, 463.

fell from a wharf into the Delaware River, and was drowned before he could be rescued.

The school seems to have been managed for some years by a few citizens, without incorporation. A charter was granted by Governor Markham, in 1697, which cannot now be found. The institution was rechartered by William Penn in 1701, in 1708, and again in 1711. It was designated as "The Public School founded by Charter in the town and county of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania." This name is commonly untangled by calling it the "William Penn Charter School." The overseers were given large powers for the establishment of branch schools of lower grade, and through several generations they conducted such schools for the benefit of the poor of Philadelphia.¹

While Sir Francis Nicholson was governor of Virginia, he not only encouraged and furthered the establishment of William and Mary College, but gave certain lots and houses of his own for the endowment of another free school in that colony. When that active official became governor of Maryland, he displayed in his new field a like zeal for religion and education. At his recommendation an act was passed by the colonial assembly providing for the support of clergymen of the Church of England, and so virtually extending the English Establishment to the colony. This step was soon followed by the passage of an act, also recommended by the governor, "for the erecting of free schools."

This act was first passed in 1694, but was not approved until passed in amended form in 1696. In its final shape, it provided "that for the propagation of the gospel, and the education of the youth of this province in good letters and manners, that a certain place or places, for a free school or schools, or place of study of Latin, Greek, writing, and the like, consisting of one master, one usher, and one writing master or scribe, to a school, and one hundred scholars, more or less, according to the ability of the said free school, may

¹ WICKERSHAM, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-50.

be made, erected, founded, propagated and established." For the management of these schools, a corporation was formed, to be known as the Rectors, Governors, Trustees, and Visitors of the Free Schools of Maryland. The corporation was authorized to make all necessary orders and rules for the government of schools; but such rules must not only be in accord with the laws of England and of Maryland, but also with "the canons and constitutions of the Church of England." The Archbishop of Canterbury was made chancellor of these schools.

It was provided that as soon as one free school had been set up and an income of one hundred and twenty pounds a year secured for it, the Rectors, Governors, etc., should proceed to set up a similar school in another county; and so on till every county in the province should be provided. The governor, members of the assembly, and others promptly contributed their various amounts of tobacco for this laudable undertaking; and duties were levied on specified imports and exports for the benefit of the schools: on liquors, furs, bacon, etc. The outcome of these efforts was King William's School at Annapolis, which eventually developed into St. John's College. The original board of trustees got no further than the establishment of this one school, but even so much was great gain for the colony.

It must not be supposed, however, that this was the earliest effort in the direction of secondary education that was made in Maryland. Ralph Crouch, we are told, "opened schools for teaching humanities" in the colony between the years 1639 and 1659. Mr. Crouch was closely associated with the Jesuits, and after his return to Europe was admitted to their order. A priest, writing in 1681, tells of "a school for humanities," opened four years before that time, in which some of the native youth had made good progress.¹

¹ STEINER, *Address at the alumni reunion of Frederick College*. Idem, *History of education in Maryland*. CLEWS, *Educational legislation and administration*, passim.

The facts presented in this chapter will give some indication of the various ways in which beginnings were made in the establishment of grammar schools in several of the colonies during the seventeenth century. Thus far we have been chiefly concerned with separate schools. An account of the organization of general systems of education in some of the colonies is reserved for the next chapter.

The general condition of these colonial schools, and the nature and scope of the instruction given in them, must be reserved for still later consideration. But one or two of their more striking characteristics may be mentioned here. The schools were generally established with distinct reference to preparation for the more advanced studies of the college. Sometimes they prepared for a college only hoped-for as yet. But in New England they were tributary to Harvard, and later to Yale as well. In Virginia and Maryland they led up to the College of William and Mary, when at last that college was established. Other colleges did not come into existence till the second great wave of interest in things of the higher life swept over the colonies.

The college and the grammar school, then, were parts of one educational system, though not bound together in one system of administration. In both alike the ideal of education was an ideal of public service. They were established to train up young men "for the service of God, in church and commonwealth." And the form of public service which was uppermost in the minds of their founders was the Christian ministry. Even preparation for the other learned professions and for political life might be left to take care of itself, but it was felt to be essential that a body of educated ministers should be trained up for the public offices of religion. We shall not understand our educational development if we fail to see that modern systems of education, like much else in our modern civilization, are deeply rooted in the religious life of two and three centuries ago.

The way in which these modern systems have grown up out of that ecclesiastical soil is one of the most interesting

subjects with which educational history has to do. Some of the beginnings of this development will be noted in the chapter next following.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Not much need be added to the book references contained in the foot-notes to this chapter. Where these refer to books which may be regarded as belonging to the history of our secondary education, the titles are included in the general bibliography given at the end of the volume. Works having only an incidental bearing upon this subject are generally collections of reprints of historical documents, or other standard publications, which are sufficiently indicated by the short titles employed in the foot-notes.

We are fortunate in having the documentary material relating to a few schools and sections, carefully edited and published in good shape. The Catalogue of 1886 of the Boston Latin School is the most admirable publication of this sort that I have ever seen. DILLAWAY'S *Free schoole in Roxburie*, and BACON'S *Hopkins Grammar School*, are valuable. There is an interesting collection of reprints in the *History of the Hopkins fund*, etc., a publication authorized by the trustees of the Hopkins Academy at Hadley. PRATT'S *Annals* bring together a large part of the available first-hand accounts of early education in New York. MR. WICKERSHAM evidently made use of original materials in preparing his very valuable history of education in Pennsylvania; but his references are not sufficiently numerous and definite. The series of Contributions to American Educational History edited by the late PROFESSOR HERBERT B. ADAMS and issued by the Bureau of Education, contains numerous bibliographies which are of value in connection with this and succeeding chapters.

DR. HINSDALE'S *Documents illustrative of American educational history*; and the more extensive work of MISS CLEWS, *Educational legislation and administration*, are indispensable in such a study as this.

A comprehensive study of documents relating to the early history of educational institutions in New England has recently been made by MR. WALTER H. SMALL, superintendent of schools at Providence, Rhode Island, the results of which were published in *The School Review*, v. 10, pp. 513-531.

Interesting references to the educational activity of the burghs of Scotland in mediæval times may be found in the works of GRANT and EDGAR referred to in the bibliographical notes to chapter IV; and the similar activity of mediæval German towns is set forth by

SPECHT, FRANZ ANTON. *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des 13ten Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart, 1885. Pp. 12 + 411.

New England's first fruits has been reprinted in Sabin's Historical tracts, quarto series, no. 7 (1865); and (in part) in the Old South Leaflets, general series, no. 51.

One of JOHN BRINSLEY's books, entitled, *The consolation for our grammar schools*, was prepared "for laying of a sure Foundation of all good Learning in our Schools, . . . More especially for all . . . ruder Countries and Places: Namely for Ireland, Wales, Virginia, with the Sommer [Bermuda] Islands. . . . Especially for drawing the poor Natives in Virginia, and all other of the rest of the Rude and Barbarous from Sathan to God." The attention of the Virginia Company was called to this book while the project of the East India School was still before them. It was remarked that it had been "compiled by a painefull schoolm^r, one Mr. John Brinsley; whereupon the Court gave order that the Companie's thanks should be giuen unto him, and appointed a select Committee to pruse the said Booke." Mr. Copeland, who had been admitted as a "free Brother" of the Company, out of gratitude for his services, was a member of this committee. They were to make report of their opinion of the book, but it does not appear that such a report was ever presented. Cf. NEILL, *op. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

CHAPTER IV

COLONIAL SCHOOL SYSTEMS

It appears that the Maryland legislature was not content with setting up a single school at Annapolis, but proposed to make this the beginning of a comprehensive system, embracing a similar school in every county of the colony. The scheme failed, to be sure, getting no further than the establishment of King William's School. But the idea was not lost, and a colonial county system was realized in the following century, as we shall see. Even if nothing had come of it, such legislation would be worthy of further notice.

For here we have the civil power undertaking to establish, not only a school, but a territorial system of schools, at a time when in the mother country such a system existed only in a fragmentary fashion, and that in close dependence upon the ecclesiastical establishment. Besides, this action of Maryland's was not the first nor the most important step that the colonies had taken in this direction. Already colonial systems of education were part of the established order of things in New England. Such a break with the past calls for some explanation, especially as the modern movement in education has so largely taken this same direction.

The old order of school administration in England was described, in few words, by DR. KNIGHT in his *Life of Colet*: 'The State of Schools in London before Dean Colet's Foundation was to this Effect: the Chancellour of Paul's (as in all the ancient Cathedral Churches) was *Master* of the Schools (*Magister Scholarum*) having the Direction and Government of Literature, not only within the Church, but within the whole City; so that all the *Masters and Teachers*

of *Grammar* depended on him, and were subject to him.¹ This describes the practice that had been followed for centuries, with many minor variations, in Roman Catholic lands. The system of church government was an episcopal system;² and the schools, like other spiritual concerns, when not under the direct oversight of the See of Rome, were subject to the bishop of the diocese, either directly or through some intermediate functionary.

The Protestant movement was marked by many divergent views of the episcopal system of church government; and the Protestant reorganization of the church was attended with grave practical difficulties. Out of it all there arose several strongly marked types of ecclesiastical polity, associated with various systems of Protestant theology. Three of the most notable of those types and systems are the Anglican, the Lutheran, and the Calvinistic.

These familiar facts are reviewed because of their bearing on our educational history. Long before the Reformation, a decided movement toward the increase of educational facilities was in progress in various countries of Europe, England included. The Reformation gave new impetus to this movement through its insistence upon the demand that every person should understand the way of salvation, and that the entrance upon that way should be a matter of intelligent choice. Secondly, it reinforced the educational movement in both Protestant and Catholic countries, by making a new demand for such trained intelligence as should successfully combat theological errors and heresies. But the systems of school administration followed the fortunes of the episcopal system of which they formed a part.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

² Not many readers, I suppose, will have need to be reminded that the word *episcopal* in its general sense is simply the adjective corresponding to the noun, bishop. Yet I find some college students who require this explanation. An episcopal church is one the government of which is centered in the office of bishop. What endless controversies have raged about that office — investiture, apostolic succession, jurisdiction, trusteeship, and many others, early and late!

In the Anglican Church the diocesan organization was continued after the Reformation with but little change of form. The schools accordingly continued under episcopal, and therefore ecclesiastical, control. Lutheran Germany was not averse to the episcopal system, but was compelled by circumstances to commit the episcopal functions to the hands of temporal princes. This arrangement bridged the passage of the schools from ecclesiastical to civil control, and resulted in the building up of strong state systems of education. Calvinism, finally, tended in varying degrees toward the rejection of the episcopal system and a virtual division of the episcopal functions between representative presbyteries and synods, of the church and a civil power dominated by religious ideals. This system, too, facilitated the transfer of educational control to the civil authority. At the same time, by the strongest possible emphasis on the sacred scriptures as "the only infallible rule of faith and practice," Calvinism pushed to the front the demand for instruction, and particularly for linguistic training. The result was the remarkable development of public education in Holland and Scotland and other Calvinistic portions of Europe, and in the American colonies.

The ecclesiastical and educational setting of American colonization may be briefly sketched as follows: The Puritan movement within the English Church had been very far-reaching in the days of Elizabeth; and Puritanism was almost universally Calvinistic. The Puritans had hoped for countenance and aid from James I., but they discovered their mistake at the very beginning of his reign. James proved himself an ardent supporter of the episcopal system. His oft-quoted saying, "No bishop, no king," was uttered at the Hampton Court conference, in January, 1605. Even earlier than this, the episcopal control of education had been expressly confirmed in the Canons of 1603. The seventy-seventh of these Canons read as follows:

"No man shall teach either in publike schoole, or priuate house, but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop or the

Diocese, or Ordinarie of the place vnder his hand & Seale, being found meete as well for his learning and dexteritie in teaching, as for sober and honest conuersation, and also for right vnderstanding of Gods true Religion, and also except hee shall first subscribe to the first and third Articles afore mentioned simply, and to the two first clauses of the second Article."

All shades of religious belief were represented in the movement toward ^{North} America in the seventeenth century; but the most vitally and widely influential was undoubtedly the Calvinism of the Puritans, which appeared not only in New England, but penetrated almost every region, and made itself felt in the affairs of all of the earlier colonies. While the first Puritans were devoted adherents of the Church of England, the progress of events on both sides of the water tended to drive them into separatism. This tendency went its full length more quickly in the colonies than in the mother country, and the distinctively Puritan colonies were soon far beyond the reach of any sort of ecclesiastical control from the side of the English Church. For a long period such control was, in truth, but little felt in any of the colonies.

For various reasons, no bishopric of the Church of England was set up in America. Such ecclesiastical jurisdiction as was exercised by that Church in this country was in the hands of the Bishop of London. This seems to have been an informal arrangement;¹ but it was the ground of the

¹ "The five clergymen, who might have been sufficient for the colony had it remained concentrated in Jamestown and its immediate vicinity, were unable to reach with their spiritual ministrations so scattered a flock. The Virginia council, therefore, applied to the Bishop of London to assist them in providing 'pious, learned, and painful ministers.' The bishop was forthwith chosen a member of the King's council for Virginia; and, as the result of Bishop King's personal and official interest and love, the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of London was henceforth continuously recognised in America during the whole period of its colonial history, though no special measures were at this time, or ever, adopted to formally incorporate Virginia, or any American colony, within the diocese of London."—TIFFANY, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, p. 23.

claim occasionally met with that no schoolmaster should be allowed to teach in this country who did not hold the Bishop of London's certificate (under the provisions of the canon quoted above). Such is the explanation of the closing of Mr. Taylor's school in Pennsylvania.¹ The instructions issued to Governor Dongan of New York, in 1686, contained the following injunction: "And wee doe further direct that noe Schoolmaster bee henceforth permitted to come from England & to keep school within Our Province of New York without the license of the said Archbishop of Canterbury." Similar instructions were issued to Governor Sloughter in 1689, to the Earl of Bellomont in 1697, and to Governor Hunter in 1709; but these all required the license of the Bishop of London instead of that of the Archbishop.²

It was in New England that the power of the English Church was weakest and Calvinism at its height. What English Puritans dreamed of as of things far off, their friends in New England could forthwith bring to pass. The plan of government drawn up by the democratic party in England in 1647 declared, with reference to Parliament, "That matters of Religion, and the wayes of God's worship, are not at all intrusted by us to any humane power, . . . nevertheless the publike way of instructing the Nation (so it be not compulsive) is referred to their discretion."³ That same year, the General Court of Massachusetts passed its epoch-making act providing for public instruction.

This act read as follows:

"It being one cheife piect of y^tould deluder, Satan, to keepe men from the knowledge of y^e Scriptures, as in form^r times by keeping y^m in an unknowne tongue, so in these latt^r times by pswading from y^e use of tongues, y^t so at least y^e true sence & meaning of y^e originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, y^t learning may not be buried in y^e grave of o^r fath^{rs} in y^e church & comonwealth, the Lord assisting o^r endeavo^rs, —

¹ See p. 54.

² PRATT, *Annals of education in New York*, pp. 69-70.

³ This rare document, entitled "An agreement of the people," is

"It is therefore ord^d, y^t ev^y towneship in this iurisdiction, aft^r y^e Lord hath increased y^m to y^e number of 50 householdⁿ, shall then forthwth appoint one wthin their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and reade, whose wages shall be paid eith^r by y^e parents or mastⁿ of such children, or by y^e inhabitants in gen^{all}, by way of supply, as y^e mai^{or} pt of those y^t ord^r y^e prudentials of y^e towne shall appoint; p^{ro}vided, those y^t send their children be not oppressed by paying much more yⁿ they can have y^m taught for in oth^r townes; & it is furth^r ordered, y^t where any towne shall increase to y^e numb^r of 100 families or househould^r, they shall set up a gramer schoole, y^e m^o thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they may be fited for y^e university, p^{ro}vided, y^t if any towne neglect y^e p^{er}formance hereof above one yeare, y^t every such towne shall pay 5^l to y^e next schoole till they shall p^{er}forme this order."¹

This was the first act of Massachusetts Bay Colony providing for elementary and secondary schools, but not the first act relating to education. Harvard College had been established, and provision made for its support and management. An act of 1642 had charged the selectmen in all of the towns to see that parents and masters provided for the education of their children, to the extent of teaching them to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country, and to engage in some suitable employment. In 1645 it had been ordered that all youth in the colony from ten to sixteen years of age should receive military training, including instruction "in y^e exercise of armes, as small guns, halfe pikes, bowes & arrowes, &c."

The law of 1647 is significant in that it required all of the larger towns to act after a pattern already set by the voluntary action of the more enterprising communities. It may, perhaps, be added to this, that it is significant as proceeding from the civil authority. I do not know of any earlier act establishing a school system in any country of

(printed in BORGEAUD'S *Rise of modern democracy*, from which (p. 71) the above quotation is made.

¹ *Records of the governor and company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, II., p. 203.

modern Christendom, which was so distinctly civil in its character.

Care must be taken, however, not to claim too much for such an apparently new departure as this. It is glory enough for any historic act, if it turn the current of human affairs to any appreciable degree in a direction along which noble achievements shall be wrought out by later generations. The Massachusetts law went only a little further than the exhortations and charges sometimes addressed by princes in Catholic lands and times to the higher clergy and monastic orders of their realms. Charles the Great is a conspicuous example of a Catholic king who participated directly in matters of education. In more ways than one the traditions of the Roman Empire were resumed under his rule. Education had been recognized under the Roman Empire as a civil function. In some sense the gradual assumption of educational control by the civil power since the Reformation is the resumption of a civil function which had been in abeyance through the intervening centuries, save in occasional and scattered instances. It was, undoubtedly, both more and less than this.

When the Massachusetts act was passed, important beginnings in this resumption of civil control had been made in other lands, both Lutheran and Calvinistic. In some of the German states the sovereign power had already set up systems of schools.¹ But we can hardly say that, previous to the eighteenth century, any German prince had issued decrees relating to education in his civil, as distinct from his 'ecclesiastical, capacity.

Great efforts had been put forth to provide education for the people of Holland, and for that age the endeavor had met with considerable success. But the system was still primarily ecclesiastical in character. The Synod of Dort, in 1618, had laid great emphasis upon school instruction; but what that synod had in view was mainly instruction in the catechism, as carried on in parochial schools.

¹ Cf. RUSSELL, *German higher schools*, chapters 2 and 3.

Such references as we find to educational activity on the part of the state are exceedingly vague.

The educational history of Scotland is peculiarly rich in examples of the interaction of civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and one finds great difficulty in the search for a leading clue through the mass of royal decrees, acts of parliament and of general assembly, and records of municipal proceedings with which it has to do. Even before the Reformation, this interaction had begun. After the Reformation the reorganized national church repeatedly urged the civil authorities to lend their aid in the effort to educate the people. The First Book of Discipline, prepared under the immediate influence of Knox and others of the early reformers, presented a comprehensive scheme for a system of public schools, elementary, secondary, and higher, and called on the state for authority to put the plan into effect. In 1616 the Privy Council passed a decree imposing on each parish the obligation to support a school. This decree was ratified by an act of the Scotch parliament in 1633. These proceedings, taken upon the urgent call of the national church, seem to have treated the school primarily as a dependency of the church. Still more active efforts, put forth by ecclesiastical assemblies, were followed in 1646 by a more definite parliamentary enactment. The most important provisions of this act read as follows:

“The Estates of Parliament now convened, in the fifth Session of this first Triennall Parliament, Considering how prejudiciall the want of Schools in many congregations hath been, and how beneficiall the founding thereof in every congregation will be to this Kirk and Kingdom; Do therefore Statute and Ordain, That there be a Schoole founded, and a Schoole master appointed in every Parish (not already provided) by advice of the Presbyterie: And to this purpose, that the Heritors in every congregation meet among themselves, and provide a commodious house for a Schoole, and modifie a stipend to the Schoole master, which shall not be under Ane hundred Merks, nor above Tua hundred Merks, to be paid yearly at two Terms: And to this effect that they set down

a stent upon every ones Rent of stock and teind in the Parish, proportionally to the worth thereof, for maintenance of the Schoole, and payment of the Schoole masters stipend ; Which stipend is declared to be due to the Schoole masters by and attour the casualities which formerly belonged to Readers and Clerks of Kirk Sessions. And if the Heritors shall not conveene, or being conveened shall not agree amongst themselves, Then, and in that case the Presbyterie shall nominate twelve honest men within the bounds of the Presbyterie, who shall have power to establish a Schoole, modifie a stipend for the Schoole master, with the latitude before expressed, and set down a stent for payment thereof upon the Heritors, which shall be as valide and effectuell as if the same had been done by the Heritors themselves.”¹

There is much in the spirit and direction of this educational movement in Scotland which reminds one strongly of the parallel movement in Massachusetts, though there is but little in the wording of the Massachusetts act of 1647 to recall the Scotch act of the preceding year. It would seem almost certain that the men of Massachusetts must have acted with full knowledge of what their fellow Calvinists of the north country were doing. Direct evidence of such knowledge may not be found ; but the close connection of both the Scotch Presbyterians and the colonists of New England with the Puritan revolutionists of Old England, makes it altogether probable that each group was pretty well informed as to what the others were doing.

The action of the civil power in Scotland, in the legislation recorded above, went further in some respects than the Massachusetts enactment of 1647, and nearly as far in other respects ; but the antecedents and the specific provisions of the Scotch law show more of ecclesiastical connection than does the Massachusetts statute. It was not until the passage of the acts of 1693 and 1696 that a national system of education was really established in Scotland, and even those acts continued much of the earlier ecclesiastical par-

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, II February 1640. Report of Record Commission, VI., p. 218.*

ticipation in the management of the schools. The Massachusetts law, on the other hand, while pushing religious considerations to the front, addressed itself to the civil authorities, and made no reference to the churches nor to the clergy in connection with the school administration.¹

But it was not to be expected that Massachusetts, in the seventeenth century, would bring into being a public school system in the modern sense of the term. Its education act was the act of a legislature elected by members of churches of a recognized faith and order; a legislature which looked upon the furtherance of true religion as its highest end and aim. The religious purpose was its chief concern in the provision for schools, and the obligation to establish schools and maintain them was laid upon towns which were at the same time congregations. The public-school systems of the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries are systems suited to a people of diverse religions, and they have grown up with the growth of religious difference. The Puritan fathers would have been horrified at the thought that their legislation was preparing the way for any such thing.

Yet it cannot be doubted that the germ of much of our later school legislation is to be found in the Massachusetts law of 1647. It was not a royal decree, but the act of the people of the colony, who took upon themselves the burden of providing a relatively expensive system of liberal education. However many ecclesiastical implications and connections it may have had, it was a civil act, such as might serve as a precedent in states differently constituted, and where the conditions of admission to the electoral body were not pitched so high.

There is abundant evidence that it did serve as such precedent. In official documents and in private publications relating to education, east and west, north and south, all

¹ A comparative examination of the several education acts of the seventeenth century would throw much light on the subject under consideration. Until such an inquiry can be made, any view of the part played by Massachusetts in the general movement must be in a measure tentative.

through the formative periods of our public education, the example of Massachusetts has been held up for emulation. It is doubtful whether there is any large section in the whole land where its influence has not been felt. Such being the case, it will be well to trace somewhat in detail the later colonial history of the Massachusetts system.

Subsequent education acts in the colony and province followed the general lines laid down in the law of 1647. In 1654, the general court of the colony made it the special care of the overseers of the college and the selectmen of the several towns to prevent the appointment or the continuance in office of teachers who "have manifested themselves vnsound in the faith or scandalous in their liues, and not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."¹

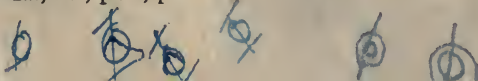
The meeting of the general court on the 12th of November, 1659, marks another epoch in our early educational history. Individual grants of land, of two hundred acres each, were made for the relief of two schoolmasters, Daniel Weld and Elijah Corlett, out of consideration for "the vsefullnes of the petitioners in an imployment of so comon concernment for the good of the whole country, & the little incouragement that they have had from their respective townes for their service and vnwearied paynes in that imployment." And grants of one thousand acres each were made to the towns of Charlestown, Cambridge, and Dorchester for the support of grammar schools.²

In 1671 the fine of five pounds imposed on towns of one hundred families for neglect to provide a grammar school was increased to ten pounds.³ This penalty was again increased, in 1683, to twenty pounds in the case of towns of two hundred families, and it was further provided at the same time that every town of more than five hundred

¹ *Records of the governor and company, etc.*, IV., pt. 1, pp. 182-183.

² *Id.*, IV., pt. 1, pp. 397-398, 400.

³ *Id.*, IV., pt. 2, p. 486.



families should "set vp & mainteyne two gram̄ar schooles and two wrighting schooles."¹

After the colony had become a royal province, the colonial school law was re-enacted, in substance, though somewhat modernized in wording. A grammar school was to be maintained in every town of one hundred families, under penalty of ten pounds for each conviction.² One half of the receipts from fines for the selling of liquors without license and for certain other offences, was devoted to the support of grammar or writing schools.³ The provision relating to the maintenance of grammar schools having been "shamefully neglected by divers towns," the penalty for non-observance was increased in 1701 to twenty pounds per annum. It was further provided that every grammar master must be approved by the minister of the town or the ministers of two adjacent towns, and hold a certificate to that effect; and that the minister of a town should not serve as schoolmaster.⁴ In 1718, "by sad experience it is found that many towns that not only are obliged by law, but are very able to support a grammer school, yet choose rather to incurr and pay the fine or penalty than maintain a grammer school." A law of that date accordingly increases the fine to thirty pounds for every town of one hundred and fifty families, forty pounds for such as have two hundred families, and so "*pro rato*" (*sic*) for a town of two hundred and fifty or three hundred families.⁵

A new Massachusetts was by this time growing up, as the frontier settlements were pushed farther and farther into the interior. The new towns did not all take kindly to the compulsory maintenance of schools, and the older towns were not unanimous in their adherence to it. The legislature and the courts of the province had much to do, as the records

¹ *Records of the governor and company, etc.*, V., pp. 414-415.

² *Province laws*, 1692-93, ch. 26, sect. 5, passed November 4, 1692.

³ *Id.*, 1700-01, ch. 8, sect. 6, passed June 29, 1700. *Id.*, 1701-02, ch. 15, sect. 6, passed June 18, 1701. *Id.*, 1702-03, ch. 4, sect. 5, passed March 27, 1703. *Id.*, 1703-04, ch. 5, sect. 5, passed July 31, 1703.

⁴ *Id.*, 1701-02, ch. 10, passed June 28, 1701.

⁵ *Id.*, 1718-19 ch. 2, passed June 17, 1718.

show, in the effort to make these independent-spirited Massachusetts communities live up to a law which was one of the chief glories of the commonwealth.

The Massachusetts act of 1647 was copied almost verbatim in the Connecticut code of 1650. After the union of the Connecticut and New Haven Colonies, the county instead of the town was made the territorial unit in the maintenance of grammar schools. In May, 1672, the general court granted each county town six hundred acres of land for the support of such a school, and later in the same year the requirement of a grammar school in each town of one hundred families was changed to one in each county town. From time to time various colony funds were voted to the support of these schools; and a fine of ten pounds was imposed on any county town which should fail to comply with the law. It was on these lines that a general system of secondary schools was maintained in Connecticut throughout the remainder of the colonial period.¹ *Never letting me this is coming! Sure!*

New Hampshire was a part of Massachusetts when the law of 1647 was adopted, and for many years thereafter. When the separation took place, the northern colony continued the same educational policy, in the face of all the obstacles to be met with on an exposed frontier in times, fretted with wars against the French and Indians. In 1719 an act was passed which was in the main a reproduction of the original Massachusetts law, but the penalty for failure to maintain schools was increased from five to twenty pounds. Two years later, the selectmen of the towns were made individually liable for such failure. These laws were still in force at the time of the Revolution.²

Another powerful and pervasive spiritual force in the colonies, after Calvinism, was the doctrine and life of "the people called Quakers." Of especial significance in the history of education was their doctrine of the inner light, and

¹ STEINER, *History of education in Connecticut*, p. 17-29.

² BUSH, *History of education in New Hampshire*, p. 9-13.

their insistence upon the separation of church and state. Revelation, for these people, was not brought to an end with the completion of the New Testament. It was continued in the spiritual illumination of each individual Christian. The Scriptures, then, though a true revelation and of the greatest value, were not the only guide of life. Such doctrine would lead some to lay great emphasis on the higher learning, but would lead all to give to learning the second place, while an enlightened conscience was held to be the principal thing. As early as the seventeenth century there was a spirited discussion of the question of "an educated ministry." And members of the society of Friends, quite consistently, took the ground that the education of the minister was a matter of secondary importance. It is not surprising that some members of this society went further, and developed a positive opposition to education beyond the merest rudiments; yet the more intelligent of their number manifested from the beginning a lively sense of the importance of schools of every grade, from the lowest to the highest.

The Quakers made themselves felt at an early day in the life of the several colonies. George Fox came to America in 1671 for an extended preaching tour. His followers were influential in the affairs of Maryland. William Penn was one of the company of Friends which for a time exercised proprietary rights over West Jersey; and finally Quaker influence in the colonies culminated in the magnificent grant which Penn received, in 1681, from Charles the Second.

There is much that has a very modern sound in the Frame of Government which Penn drew up for his colony: Freedom of religion (except for "Papists"); large powers granted to an elective legislature; and intimately connected with these, a system of education under civil control. "The Governor and Provincial Council shall erect and order all public schools, and encourage and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions in the said province." And one of the committees into which the Provincial Council was divided for purposes of administration was "a

tional movement in Pennsylvania must have been felt there. In a new country, among a people much divided in their religious affiliations, where there was but little accumulated wealth, high educational aspirations could be realized only through the co-operation of many forces. Governor Nicholson's personal influence was powerful, and he seems to have been sufficiently desirous of seeing schools established to be willing to employ any fair means which might be available for the attainment of that end. It seems likely that this was the determining factor in the case.

The matter was the occasion of much wrangling both before and after the passage of the act of 1696. The growing demand for opportunities of advancement for American-born youth in the public service, was emphasized in this discussion. The bill was in all likelihood a compromise. It is clear that especial pains were taken to keep the new system in close relations with the English Church. Even so the act seems to mark another of the early stages in the development of that participation of the civil power in affairs of public education which eventuated in the school systems of the past fifty years.

The act of 1696, as previously stated, failed to secure the establishment of any but the King William school. But it led to later legislation which was more effective. Various duties were imposed from time to time for the benefit of free schools — on imported negroes and on exports of tobacco, pork, tar, etc. Then, in 1723, a new act was passed, providing again for one free school in each of the twelve counties of the colony. A separate board of seven visitors was erected for each of these schools. Each board was required to purchase one hundred acres of land, to be turned over to the use of the schoolmaster, together with a house for his residence and for the school; and to pay the master in addition a salary of twenty pounds a year. The master must be an adherent of the Church of England.¹ The

¹ The text of this law, as well as of the act of 1696, may be found in CLEWS, *Educational legislation and administration*.

colony was evidently in earnest in this matter, and the schools contemplated in the law were generally established; but there are indications in the course of subsequent legislation that great difficulty was met with in the attempt to hold them up to even a moderate standard of efficiency.

The four colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maryland, bravely kept up some sort of colonial system of education down to the time of separation from the mother country. The schools were "free schools" in intention. In theory, if not always in practice, they offered instruction in Latin, and pointed forward to the higher education. For the last fifty years of the period, for reasons which will be considered further on, the chariot drove heavily. It was not simply that the colonies were degenerating intellectually. New times had come, and with them the need of a new education and new educational institutions.

Yorick *very, don't you recognize this, Mr. Brown?*
ONE *Thank heavens!*
 BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

There is need of compact histories, in English, of the chief educational systems of continental Europe, and of Scotland and England. One finds, moreover, a great dearth of source-books, such as would make possible a full and reliable comparison of the development of those systems with that of our own.

For Holland we have the scattered items of information in the writings of MOTLEY and of MATTHEW ARNOLD, in COUSIN's famous report, in DE WITT's Introduction to DUNSHEE, *School of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*, in PLUGGÉ, *Education in the Netherlands* (Circ. Inf., no. 2, 1877), and in NUSSBAUM, *Education in the Netherlands* (Rept. Comr. Ed., 1894-95, p. 475 ff.). The articles on education adopted by the Synod of Dort are given in English translation in DE WITT's Introduction.

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Yorick *very, don't you recognize this, Mr. Brown?*
ONE *Thank*
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There is much information packed in this little pamphlet :

GORDON, THE REV. A. L. The system of national education in Scotland ; its origin, its nature, and results. Being the substance of a report of a committee of the Synod of Aberdeen, ordered by the Synod to be published. With notes and illustrations. Aberdeen, 1839. Pp. 59.

For colonial systems, the works consulted have already been referred to under Chapter III.

CHAPTER V

LATER COLONIAL SCHOOLS

THE seventeenth century was marked by several stages of colonial development, corresponding to rather sharply defined epochs in the history of the mother country. The violent changes which characterized that age left their impress on colonial society, and affected the course of colonial education. These successive stages cannot, however, be considered in detail in such a work as this. But the contrast between the earlier and the later colonial times is too great to be overlooked, since it brings to view some of the strongest undercurrents in our educational history. The second great division of our colonial period will accordingly receive separate consideration in this chapter.

As a matter of convenience, we may regard this second division as covering the whole of the eighteenth century, down to the Revolution. It is hardly necessary to say that the new century did not at once set up a new order of things. But the reign of William and Mary settled many disputes that had vexed the seventeenth century: and the reign of Queen Anne carries us well over into the age of outward calm; the Augustan age, with its common sense; the age of Bolingbroke and of Walpole and of all those others who like them depised enthusiasm. Down under the crust of that age new enthusiasms were moving which the world must reckon with further on. The fire that had gone out of the familiar institutions was at work elsewhere, with no diminution of creative energy.

The colonies in this time were coming to be colonial. Their inhabitants ceased to be Englishmen away from home,

and became thoroughly provincial. Their intercourse with the mother country was very different from that known to their grandfathers, when the spirit of adventure or zeal for religion brought men of first-rate character and ability to America, and Americans found places of honor and responsibility awaiting them when they returned to England. The lament was often heard in the eighteenth century that the high character of the early colonists had not been maintained by their descendants. Such croaking, to be sure, is one of the luxuries of the lookers-backward in every age. But there can be no doubt that in this instance it was justified. Learning, along with much else that was good, had, in spite of all pains, been buried in the graves of the forefathers.

We can see now that in becoming provincial the colonists were simply getting ready to become American. For the student of history, this period is full of interest, for the reason that in its provincialism he can trace some of the beginnings of the American character.

Men filled with the love of adventure were slowly pushing the frontier back from the coast. There were already considerable stretches of country given over to peaceful industry and safe from invasion by the Indians. In spite of trade restrictions, the colonists were finding out for themselves various lines of profitable employment. Moderate fortunes were made; and in the cities of the north and on the plantations of the south a varied and interesting social life was developing. Printing presses were at work, newspapers came to be widely read, and affairs of public interest brought out a spirited pamphlet literature in America as in England.

Of the greatest significance in its bearing upon education was the ecclesiastical character of the several colonies. At the accession of William and Mary, we find some sort of experiment in religious freedom going on in Maryland, in Pennsylvania, and notably in Rhode Island; Congregationalism of different types is established in Massachusetts and

Connecticut; while the Church of England is officially recognized in Virginia and the Carolinas. In the other colonies, and to a less degree in some of those just enumerated, affairs ecclesiastical appear in a mixed and uncertain state, confusing enough to the student of our early history.

Such were the conditions that obtained at the opening of the English era of toleration. From that time on we may observe the working of two divergent tendencies. The Church of England was roused to greater interest in the American colonies, and entered upon extensive missionary operations on this side of the Atlantic. Anglican influence in the colonies was increased. Some sort of establishment, after the English pattern, was set up, under the patronage of royal governors, in New York and Maryland. And notable Episcopalian gains were made in the very centers of New England Congregationalism. At first glance it would seem that the dominant tendency of the time ran toward established Episcopalianism.

But many influences were making toward religious diversity and its natural accompaniment, religious equality. Such colonial establishments as there were can hardly be compared to the union of church and state then existing in the mother country. Even in the Puritan colonies, at an early day, the hard and fast connection of the civil with the ecclesiastical power had begun to loosen. This movement toward separation went on slowly during the eighteenth century. Along with it may be traced the growth of that positive civic and secular spirit which was so strongly marked during the Revolutionary period.

There were certain definite manifestations of these two tendencies — toward established Episcopalianism on the one hand and toward religious diversity and religious equality on the other — which must be briefly considered because of their bearing upon educational movements. And first of these, the activities of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

The founding of William and Mary College, in 1693, was

one of the earliest indications of the new interest which the leaders of the English Church were taking in the colonies. Closely connected with this was the appointment of the two famous Commissaries of the Bishop of London in this country, the Rev. James Blair in Virginia and the Rev. Thomas Bray in Maryland. Dr. Blair is a most militant and interesting figure in the history of the colonial church. No man did more than he to secure the establishment of the college in Virginia; and he was at the head of that institution down to the time of his death in 1743.

Thomas Bray, if less picturesque, was no less worthy. We find him, before quitting England, using his utmost endeavors to secure libraries for the use of the clergy in the several parishes of Maryland. "It is Ignorance," he said in a sermon on colonial missions, "which is the Natural Parent of that Atheism and Infidelity so rife amongst Men; and indeed, not only of that, but of all other Vices and Wickednesses whatsoever." He reminded his hearers "that we cannot now work Miracles, and that *Inspiration* is no part of our Talent; but that we are left to the Ordinary means of Converting the World; *namely*, the Common Measures of God's Holy Spirit accompanying our hard Study."

It was chiefly due to the devotion and persistence of Dr. Bray that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was organized, by English churchmen, in 1701. This Society immediately undertook a vigorous campaign for the extension of Anglican Christianity in the several American colonies. George Keith, the first master of the Friends' Public School in Philadelphia, who had now conformed to the English Church, was the first of its missionaries. He travelled all over the colonies in the discharge of his duties, and started a considerable movement toward Episcopalianism.

The chief concern of the Society was the maintenance of ministers in colonial parishes. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary war it was helping to support seventy-seven missionaries in the region then in revolt. But next after churches, the Society was concerned in the establishment of

schools. These were mostly of elementary grade. But when our second Episcopalian college¹ was projected the Society furthered the movement, and gave it substantial support. The authorities of the English Church required of candidates for holy orders that they should have had the training of a college course. In this there was full agreement between them and the Congregationalists of New England. It was an attitude which gave countenance and encouragement to the higher education, for which the Latin grammar school furnished the indispensable preparation. The operations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, accordingly, furthered indirectly the grammar school movement; and in some instances grammar schools would seem to have received aid from the treasury of the Society.²

It was the great hope and aim of this Society to secure the establishment of an American episcopate. Such a consummation had long been desired and sought by the dignitaries of the English Church. As far back as 1638, Archbishop Laud had exerted himself to have a bishop sent to New England. But this project met with determined opposition on both sides of the water, not only in the time of Laud, but whenever it was broached in later days. It is difficult for us to understand the intensity of the feeling which this proposal aroused. It was not that men objected to an episcopal form of church government, though many were opposed on principle to such a system. It was much more that men dreaded the power residing in an English bishop to enforce conformity; and could not forget how oppressively that power had been exercised. One had only to mention the name of Laud to arouse hostility and dread.³

¹ King's College, now Columbia University, established in 1754.

² The elementary school of Trinity Church, in New York, which received aid from the Society, still lives, and has become a flourishing secondary school.

Anglican influence at its finest and best appeared with the coming of George Berkeley to the colonies. The good bishop's visit must always be counted among the happiest occurrences in the history of our colonial education.

³ "It was difficult for these [New England Puritans and North-of-Ireland Presbyterians], and it would have been even more difficult for the new digni-

So it came about that the growing success of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel aroused grave apprehension in many minds. And in the fifties and sixties of the eighteenth century, this found expression in a heated controversy. Independence came before a trans-Atlantic episcopate could be secured; and the discussion which the movement stirred up was, as Moses Coit Tyler has remarked, "one of the chief secondary causes of the American Revolution."

The "Venerable Society," then, while working for unity in established Episcopalianism, unintentionally sharpened existing differences and strengthened the demand for religious freedom. But other forces were working more powerfully in the same direction. There had been abundant variety in the religious character of the earlier settlements. But variation went much further in the eighteenth century. At the first, America had been a land of promise for the oppressed, because of the opportunity it offered of founding new commonwealths for people of this or that religion. Now the idea of religious equality was getting abroad, and America was looked upon as a land in which the oppressed might find shelter under governments, already established, which welcomed all comers.

Various sects, mostly German, emigrated in great numbers to Pennsylvania. European Baptists settled in the Carolinas, making a beginning of that Baptist influence which has been so powerful in the south to this day. Huguenots poured into that southern country after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and their descendants have held a high place in our history.

Most significant of all from the point of view of education

taries, in colonial days, to understand how bishops could be anything but lord bishops." BACON, *History of American Christianity*, pp. 206-207. Cf. the passage of similar import in TIFFANY, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States*, p. 277. John Adams said that, "the objection was not only to the office of a bishop, though that was dreaded, but to the authority of Parliament on which it must be founded." *Id.*, p. 275. It can hardly be doubted that an American episcopate would have given a different direction, for a time at least, to American education.

was the influx of Presbyterians from the north of Ireland. This immigration began about the year 1718 and continued for many years thereafter, being reinforced later by a similar movement from Scotland. Popular education was as an article of the faith with these people, and their reverence for an educated ministry made them lay the strongest emphasis upon the traditional college training. Their experience with the established Protestantism of Ireland had formed in them a fixed attitude of opposition toward the Anglican system. Many of them disapproved as well of the established Presbyterianism of Scotland, and they were ready material for a party of opposition to church establishments as such in this country. They spread out over all the colonies, becoming especially strong in the highlands of the middle and southern states.

To recall these familiar facts is to get the merest hint of that diversification of faiths and peoples which was going on in the colonies. The different elements were becoming more thoroughly mixed together in the eighteenth century than they had been before. One of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel described what he found as a "hotch-potch of religions." The time was favorable for a great religious movement which should sweep over this motley company, firing the hearts of men with a new sense of unity, and making new party divisions, marked with new party-spirit. Such a movement came in that tremendous religious revival known as the Great Awakening. In its progress and in its results, religious, political, and educational, this movement reminds one in some measure of that set going by the Preaching Friars, in the thirteenth century.

There was much that led up to the awakening on both sides of the Atlantic. Such revivals, on a smaller scale, had not been uncommon in Puritan congregations. The Quakers and Anabaptists of the seventeenth century had, perhaps, prepared the way by their teaching and preaching. The Pietists in Germany at the end of the seventeenth century, under the lead of Spener and Francke, had spread abroad a

view of the religious life which was favorable to such movements. Count Zinzendorf at Herrnhut had brought the Moravians into close touch with this pietism. Many of Zinzendorf's people had come to Pennsylvania, and their Count-bishop came himself to visit them. England felt the influence of what was going on in Germany, and by the year 1740 had her own Methodist revival under way, led by Whitefield and the Wesleys.

Just when and how the colonial awakening began it would be hard to say. But there was a great religious revival at Northampton, Massachusetts, under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards, which was in full progress in 1734, and rose to great intensity and fervor in the following year. Similar revivals took place in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, under the lead of Domine Frelinghuysen and Jonathan Dickinson and Samuel Blair, and the Tennents, father and sons. This was in the years 1739-40. In 1738, George Whitefield, one of the greatest pulpit orators in the history of the Christian church, came from England and began that marvellous series of colonial preaching tours, which ended only with his death. Wherever he went there was excitement, disturbance, division — anything but spiritual stagnation. And a great number of irregular, itinerant preachers followed after him, who gathered their congregations in the churches or in the fields indifferently, and called men everywhere to repentance.

The most contradictory views of these things were held at the time of their occurrence. Jonathan Edwards declared that "Multitudes in all parts have had their consciences awakened, and . . . there is a great alteration amongst old and young as to drinking, tavern haunting, profane speaking, and extravagance in apparel. . . . In very many places the main of the conversation in all companies turns on religion, and things of a spiritual nature." "Satan, the old inhabitant, seems to exert himself, like a serpent disturbed and enraged."¹ Benjamin Franklin remarked, in his autobiography,

¹ EDWARDS *On revivals*, pp. 52, 154-159.

"It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless and indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious."¹ On the other hand, the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia, which had been rent by dissensions resulting from the revival, published a "Protestation" in which the preachers of the awakening were censured for "preaching the Terrors of the Law in such manner and Dialect as has no Precedent in the Word of God, but rather appears to be borrowed from a worse Dialect; and so industriously working on the Passions and Affections of weak Minds, as to cause them to cry out in a hideous Manner, and fall down in Convulsion-like Fits . . . and then after all, boasting of these Things as the Work of God, which we are persuaded do proceed from an inferior or worse Cause."²

With education so intimately bound up with religion as we know it to have been in those days, such a movement as the Great Awakening could not fail to have a mighty influence on the development of schools. The Episcopalian missionary movement affected education, but chiefly in the way of quickening activity along the familiar lines. The awakening, on the other hand, tended to the undoing of old forms and the making of new types.

This educational influence may be seen in many instances working directly, in the establishment of schools by religious bodies and for ends immediately connected with the spirit of the revival. But in a larger way, it worked through social changes which the revival furthered or brought about. For the Great Awakening, like the Methodist movement in England, had much to do with the rise of the common people. As it affected American theology by turning it in the direction of such doctrines as could be most effectively preached from the pulpit,³ and affected American politics

¹ *Op. cit.*, edited by Bigelow, p. 267.

² *Protestation to the Synod*, p. 11.

³ Cf. BACON, *History of American Christianity*, pp. 374-375.

by quickening the growth of democracy,¹ so it affected education by giving the people a new interest in schools above the elementary grade, and by promoting the establishment of such schools as would answer to this interest.

"The great God has wrought like himself," wrote Jonathan Edwards, "in pouring out his spirit chiefly on the common people. . . . He has made use of the weak and foolish things of the world to carry on his work. The ministers that have been chiefly improved, some of them have been mere babes in age and standing, and some of them such as have not been so high in reputation among their fellows as many others."² He proposed that, for the furthering of the ends sought by the men of the Great Awakening, schools should be endowed, "which might be done on such a foundation, as not only to bring up children in common learning, but also, might very much tend to their conviction and conversion, and being trained up in vital piety."³ Even before the awakening, a notable school of this sort had been established, which had a numerous offspring. This was the "Log College" of the Rev. William Tennent.

Whitefield wrote of this school in one of his journals: "Set out for Neshaminy, 20 miles distant from *Trent-Town*, where old Mr. *Tennent* lives, and keeps an Academy. . . . It happened very providentially that Mr. *Tennent* and his Brethren are appointed to be a Presbytery, by the Synod; so that they intend Breeding up gracious Youths, and sending them out, from time to time, into our LORD's Vineyard. — The Place wherein the young Men study now, is, in Contempt, called, *The College*: It is a Log-house, about 20 Foot long, and near as many broad; and to me it seemed to resemble the School of the old Prophets. . . . From this despised Place, seven or eight worthy ministers of JESUS have lately been sent forth; more are almost ready

¹ Cf. EGGLESTON, *Transit of civilization*, p. 168.

² EDWARDS *On revivals*, pp. 119-120. (From *Thoughts on the revival of religion in New England*.)

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 393.

to be sent ; and a Foundation is now Laying for the instruction of many others.”¹

Mr. Tennent was a North-of-Ireland man, who had entered upon his pastorate at Neshaminy, and established his school there, about the year 1726. Numerous schools were opened in the middle and southern states, within the next few years, by Presbyterian ministers who had been trained in Mr. Tennent’s “academy,” and by others in imitation of such example. The term “log college,” came to be used as a generic designation of any school of this sort. Mr. Tennent had sons who were ministers, and the eldest of them, Gilbert Tennent, was one of the most celebrated of the revival preachers who followed in the wake of George Whitefield. The Log College men threw themselves, heart and soul, into the revival movement ; and one of the most significant controversies growing out of that movement was that in which their presbytery became involved with the Synod of Philadelphia.

The question at issue was that of the requirement of a college training of candidates for ordination. It was not the first time nor the last that this question arose. It had come up for discussion in the preceding century. At a later time, when the area of settlement was rapidly enlarging in the west, it became increasingly difficult of answer. At the time of the awakening, when colleges were still chiefly for the training of ministers, and secondary schools chiefly preparatory to such colleges, the question was a vital one in its bearing on the development of both secondary and higher education.

The Synod of Philadelphia stood for the traditional requirement. The presbytery would have promising candidates ordained though they should offer only the incomplete preparation provided by the Log College. The two parties failed to come to an agreement, and a separation resulted, after the good old Presbyterian fashion. The affair ran a

¹ *A continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield’s Journal, etc., II., pp. 143-144. The date is November 22, 1739.*

devious course, which would be long in the telling. But it eventuated in the establishment of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, by men of the awakening, an important part in the enterprise being borne by some who were not distinctively of the Log College party.¹

The College of New Jersey became a spiritual centre to which the classical schools set up by Presbyterian ministers here and there were tributary. The college stimulated the schools; and when its graduates went forth, they went as missionaries of education as well as of religion. After the middle of the eighteenth century, accordingly, the Princeton influence was a force to be counted on in the extension of secondary instruction.

With this introduction we may now enter upon a more particular survey of the state of secondary education during this period in the several colonies. While many influences were at work, industrial, commercial, political, the two new currents which most obviously directed the course of that education were those which have been described: the new colonial activity of the Church of England, and the whole set of tendencies which culminated in the Great Awakening. Generally speaking, the first of these was conservative, and the second made for change. Already there was a settled tradition of education in the Puritan colonies, and this made a second conservative element. Despite all differences, the religious and educational influence of the Puritans and that of the Anglicans often set in the same direction.

We shall see later how the two tendencies, the Puritan-Anglican and the New Light were interacting to produce what was, perhaps, the first really American type of school, the American academy. But the real academy belongs to the earlier years of independence; and for the present we need concern ourselves only to see what was actually doing in the educational affairs of the several colonies down to

¹ ALEXANDER, *The Log College*. MACLEAN, *History of the College of New Jersey*.

the time of the Revolution. This survey must necessarily be brief, supplementing general statements with a few typical or remarkable instances.

On the whole, the grammar schools of the earlier type were slowly declining. Their "decay" is spoken of as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century. In New Hampshire, the laws relating to the support of grammar schools were revised from time to time, in the direction of greater strictness. The advent of Scotch-Irish settlers, near the end of the first quarter of the century, tended to strengthen the educational spirit of the province. Under a provision embodied in an act of 1719, towns might apply, in case of need, for relief from the legal requirements relative to the support of schools. As the century advanced and the burdens of war with the French and Indians came to be severely felt, some towns availed themselves of this provision, or neglected the maintenance of schools without regard to formal dispensation.¹

It was a bold step that was taken by the makers of Dartmouth College — and a step of great significance in the later educational history of the state — when they proceeded, in 1769, to set up their institution for the education of both white men and Indians, in the heart of what was then the western wilderness. The rise of this institution was intimately connected, through President Eleazar Wheelock, with the general movement of the awakening.²

In Massachusetts, though the penalty for neglect was repeatedly increased, the records show that grand juries were still hard put-to to enforce observance of the law for grammar schools. Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer, who died in 1761, bequeathed his dwelling-house and farm of nearly three hundred acres, in Byfield parish, Newbury, for the establishment of a grammar school. This was a notable act in more ways than one. It broke away from the tradition of local and public provision for education,

¹ WINTERBOTHAM, *View*, etc., II., pp. 119-120.

² BUSH, *History of education in New Hampshire*, *passim*.

which had been prevalent in Massachusetts from the earliest days. It was not the first departure from that tradition, to be sure;¹ but coming when it did, it heralded a new movement.

There was much fumbling in the external management of this school during the first years of its existence, which hints at a painful adjustment to changing notions of school administration. But under the first master, Samuel Moody, there was no uncertainty in its internal management. He made it a grammar school of the olden type, strictly devoted to the business of preparing boys for college. Among the boys whom he sent to Harvard was Samuel Phillips, who became the prime mover in the establishment of the Phillips Academy at Andover. After this later institution had inaugurated the academy movement in Massachusetts, the Dummer school was transformed into the Dummer Academy, receiving an act of incorporation in 1782.²

In Connecticut, one characteristic outcome of the Great Awakening is recorded. Some enthusiastic New Lights established, at New London, an institution which was known as the "Shepherd's Tent." This was intended as a training school for future ministers, exhorters, and teachers. But the colonial legislature, under Old Light domination, was zealous for the established education as well as for the established religion; and a strict enactment was passed forbidding any one to conduct any sort of public school, other than those provided for by law, without legislative permission.³ This act, passed in 1742, was to continue in force for a period of four years. With the growth of New Light influence in the colony, we see signs of a growing hospitality toward educational experiments.

Steps were taken from time to time to provide for the education of the Indians within the jurisdiction of Con-

¹ The grammar school at Hadley, at least, was neither local nor public according to any close definition of the terms.

² CLEVELAND, *Centennial address*.

³ *Public records of Connecticut*, VIII., pp. 500-502.

necticut. The most notable undertaking of this sort was the Moor's Indian Charity School, conducted by the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock. Dr. Wheelock was one of the most eloquent preachers of the Great Awakening. He became pastor of a church in Lebanon in 1735, and like many other ministers of that day received boys into his family for classical instruction. After a time a school grew up under his care, to which a number of Indian youth were admitted. Among these were Samson Occum, who became a powerful preacher, and was listened to with marked attention even in Old England ; and Joseph Brant, who achieved a less worthy notoriety during the Revolutionary War. Joshua Moor bequeathed to this school a house and lands, and from him it took its name.¹ A few years before the Revolution it reappeared in New Hampshire, where it gave rise to a higher and broader institution, under the honorable designation of Dartmouth College.

An important school was established at Lebanon in 1743, by Governor Trumbull, over which Nathan Tisdale presided for thirty years and more. Both the sons and the daughters of the Governor attended this school, and it drew other students from far and near. Just before the Revolution, in 1774, the "Union School of New London" was incorporated. Both of these institutions were virtually early academies, though not designated as such.²

The province of New York seems to have been without a grammar school at the beginning of the century. On the recommendation of Governor Cornbury, an act was passed in 1702, providing that, for the term of seven years, fifty pounds be raised annually by taxation for the support of a grammar school master, in the city of New York. This tax was to be levied in the same manner as that for the support of a minister. The master must be licensed by the Bishop of London, or by the Governor or commander-in-chief of the

¹ There is an interesting account of this school, by a former pupil, in the *Diary of David McClure*, pp. 6-8.

² STEINER, *Education in Connecticut*, pp. 31-34.

province. This bill was not passed without much haggling over its provisions. George Muirson seems to have been master of the school for which it provided, in 1704-05. It is not clear that it was in operation either before or after his incumbency.

Another New York school which presents many points of interest was established in 1732, by act of the provincial legislature. Certain moneys coming in from the licensing of hawkers and pedlers were set aside for the encouragement of the master, to the amount of forty pounds per annum. And a like amount, "Currant Money of this Colony," was assessed in the same manner as that devoted to the support of the ministry. The condition of these grants was that twenty youths from various parts of the province should be taught gratis. Mr. Alexander Malcolm, who had been keeping a private school, was named in the act as the first master. The school was set up "to teach Latin, Greek, and all the Parts of Mathematicks." Mr. Malcolm announced that under the last-named head he gave instruction in geometry, algebra, geography, navigation, and "Merchants Book-keeping," and that, inasmuch as "the younger Scholars at this School are in hazard of losing their Writing, through the loss of Time and Diversion, occasioned by their going from one School to another," he would teach writing to such of his Latin scholars as thought fit to employ him.¹

This school was confirmed and continued by a second act of the legislature, which expired in 1738 by limitation. The school is said to have been continued after that time and to have formed the germ of Columbia College. But the evidence on these points is not clear.

In 1753, one number² of the *Independent Reflector* was devoted to a discussion of the need of grammar schools in the colony. "We are not only surpassed," so the paper

¹ The documentary history of these schools is given by PRATT, *Annals of public education*. Eighty-third report of the Regents, pp. 632-643, 672-687.

² *The Independent Reflector*, no. 50, November 8, 1753. The writer was in all probability William Livingston.

reads, "by several of our Neighbors, who have long since erected Colleges for publick instruction, but by all others, even in common Schools ; of which I have heard it lamented, that we have scarce ever had a good One in the Province. It is true, we had a Law which declared in its Preamble, that the Youth of this Province, were not inferior in their Geniusses to those of any other Country ; But against this it is to be observed, that the Law is long since expired, and probably our natural Ingenuity abated, and even tho' this was not the Case, I can by no Means agree, that the natural Fertility of our Geniusses, is a sufficient Reason for the total Neglect of their Cultivation."

The writer proposes that two grammar schools be set up in each county, under public control, and that fifty pounds a year be raised annually by taxation for the support of each of the masters. These schools should prepare boys for entrance into the new college of the colony, which could not be done properly in a less period than four years. It is especially urged that no grammar school be erected within the college, such a proceeding being contrary to all the traditions of colleges and universities. This proposal, however, came to nothing ; and a grammar school was opened in connection with King's College, in 1763, which was for many years one of the foremost classical schools of the middle states.¹

The early secondary schools of New Jersey were largely an outgrowth of the Great Awakening. Dr. Jonathan Dickinson had a classical school at Elizabethtown previous to 1745, and about the same time the Rev. Aaron Burr conducted a similar school at Newark. These schools were among the forerunners of Princeton College, of which institution Dickinson and Burr were successively president. The grammar school connected with the college played an important part in the early secondary education of the colony. A Baptist school was opened at Hopewell in 1756. Ten years later an important grammar school was established by two

¹ MOORE, *Historical sketch of Columbia College*, pp. 52, 66, 89, 97.

schoolmasters in partnership at Elizabethtown. Washington Academy, at Hackensack, was established in 1769, probably as consolation to that community for the outcome of the controversy with reference to the location of Rutgers College, in which New Brunswick had won and Hackensack had lost.¹

In South Carolina, perhaps more than any other colony, it was the prevalent practice of the planters to send their sons to England for an education. Here, as in Virginia, the development of schools was retarded by the scattering of the people on large plantations; and the character of such schools as were opened was largely influenced by the establishment of the English Church in the colony, and by the missionary activity of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There seems to have been no provision for schools previous to 1710. In that year the legislature passed "An act for the founding and erecting of a free school, for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina." This act set up a corporation empowered to receive gifts and legacies and administer the same for a colony free school. Several bequests for this purpose had already been made. The "preceptor and teacher of grammar and other arts and sciences" in this school must be a conforming member of the Church of England, and "capable to teach the learned languages, that is to say, the Latin and Greek tongues, and also the useful parts of the mathematics." Provision was also made for the appointment of a writing master. But no public funds were granted for any of these purposes, and nothing seems to have been accomplished under the act.

Two years later an act was passed renewing this corporation, and appointing Mr. John Douglass first master of the school, which was located at Charleston; and life was given to the new enactment by an appropriation of public funds. It was provided that, in addition to a residence, the master should receive, out of the public treasury, the sum of one

¹ MURRAY, *History of education in New Jersey*, *passim*.

hundred pounds annually. In consideration of this grant, he was required to teach twelve scholars free of charge. For others, he might charge four pounds a year. A gift of twenty pounds to the school should entitle the donor to nominate a scholar, who should be taught free for a period of five years. Provision was made for an usher; and also for a fit person "to teach writing, arithmetic, and merchants' accounts, and also the art of navigation and surveying, and other useful and practical parts of mathematics."¹ A significant addition to this act was a section providing that schoolmasters in other parishes should receive a colonial subsidy of ten pounds a year, and empowering the parish vestries to build schoolhouses, with the aid of twelve pounds, in each case, from the provincial treasury.

A congregation of settlers from the Massachusetts Dorchester migrated, in the traditional fashion associated with that name, to South Carolina, and there set up a new Dorchester. In 1734 an act of the legislature authorized them to erect a free school, "for the use of the inhabitants of the South Carolina." It would seem that no special fund was voted for the encouragement of this school. The master was not required to be a churchman; but it was provided that he should "be capable to teach the learned languages, Latin and Greek tongues, and to catechise and instruct the youth in the principles of the Christian religion."² After the middle of the century, when a further migration from this South Carolina Dorchester to Georgia had taken place, the school was reorganized, with the rector of the parish as one of the commissioners *ex officio*, and a colonial subsidy of twenty-five pounds, "proclamation money," semi-annually was granted to it out of the church fund in the colonial treasury.

Several other important endowments of secondary education are recorded in the colonial period. Among them were

¹ The documentary history of this school is given in CLEWS, *op. cit.*, pp. 442-465.

² CLEWS, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-472.

those of the free school at Childsbury (1733), the Beresford Bounty School near Charleston (1721), the school of the Winyaw Indigo Society at Georgetown (1756), and others at Goose Creek, Beaufort, and Ninety-six. One of the most interesting of these endowments is that made at Georgetown, by the Indigo Society, which now provides a portion of the support of the Georgetown High School.

In connection with the Presbyterian churches in the upper country, instruction was frequently given in the classic languages. In this way, the Log College and the College of New Jersey made their influence felt in the South. According to Mr. Edward McCrady, there were in South Carolina up to the close of the Revolution eleven public and three charitable grammar schools of which record can be found. In 1722 an act was passed which authorized the justices of county and precinct courts to set up a Latin school in each county and precinct in the province, and to impose a tax for its support, but it does not appear that anything came of this provision.¹

Economic conditions in North Carolina were similarly unfavorable to the establishment of schools. Governor Johnson said, in 1736, "That the legislature has never yet taken the least care to erect one school which deserves the name, in this wide extended country, must in the judgment of all thinking men, be reckoned one of our greatest misfortunes." According to Mr. Charles Lee Smith, the first act of the North Carolina legislature for the establishment of a school was passed in 1749. It is doubtful whether the school then established in law was ever established in fact. The first real impulse toward the higher education came from the Presbyterian ministry. The Rev. James Tate established a classical school in the city of Wilmington about 1760. The

¹ CLEWS, *op. cit.*; MERIWETHER, *History of higher education in South Carolina*; MCCRADY, *Education in South Carolina*. See also MCCRADY, *South Carolina under the proprietary government*; and *South Carolina under the royal government*, *passim*. Particularly entertaining accounts of the Beresford Bounty School and that of the Winyaw Indigo Society appear in chapter I. of MERIWETHER's monograph.

Rev. David Caldwell, D.D., opened a classical school in Guilford County, in 1766 or 1767. This soon became "one of the most noted schools of the South." A classical school, established about the same time at the Sugar Creek Presbyterian Church, near Charlotte, was the beginning of Queen's College, afterwards (1777) chartered by the state legislature as Liberty Hall Academy.¹

As to Virginia, we have reports presented in 1724 from twenty-nine out of about forty-five parishes. In six of these there were public schools, and private schools were reported in eleven. The others had no public schools, and no report was presented with reference to private schools in them.² Probably the most of these schools were of elementary grade.

Eaton's Charity School and Syms' Free School continued their good work; and for the better management of those institutions, their boards of trustees were incorporated by the legislature in the seventeen-fifties. Provision was made at Norfolk, in 1736, for a school, the master of which should be "capable to teach the Greek and Latin tongues." This master was to be nominated by the county authorities after being examined and approved by the faculty of William and Mary College. The school established by Henry Peasley in 1675, was reported in 1724 as endowed with five hundred acres of land, three slaves, and a number of cattle. The trustees of this school were directed by a legislative act of 1756 to found a free school in each of the parishes of Abingdon and Ware. Various other endowed schools appear in the records, but rather vaguely.³

Many boys were educated in their homes by private tutors. George Washington attended an academy in Fredericksburg, of which the Rev. James Marye was master. In the latter part of the period under consideration, the

¹ SMITH, *History of education in North Carolina*, passim.

² PERRY'S *Historical collections*, quoted in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, VI., p. 78, foot-note.

³ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, loc. cit.

schools established by Scotch-Irish ministers in the upland regions were influential here, as in neighboring colonies.¹

Mr. Basil Sollers has traced, with the greatest pains, the history of the several county schools of Maryland. Fifteen of these were established in colonial times. "The scarcity of good teachers seems," he says, "from the many advertisements promising 'suitable encouragement' to any person qualified for a schoolmaster, to have been an unsurmountable obstacle to the continuous success of the public or county schools. Another cause of failure was want of interest on the part of visitors. . . . Their usefulness had at the time of the Revolution practically ceased in most cases."²

The success of the academy and college in Philadelphia roused the Marylanders to emulation. Repeated efforts were made to establish a college in the province, and for a time with good prospect of success. But the coming on of revolutionary disturbances prevented a realization of these projects. An occasional private classical school appears in the history of the colony. The Presbyterian minister comes upon the scene, with his unfailing zeal for learning. The Rev. Samuel Finley's academy at Nottingham (1744-1761) was a famous school, in which two governors, a speaker of the House of Representatives, Dr. Benjamin Rush and his brother Jacob, and other distinguished men received their early training.³ The founder became president of Princeton College. Some of the Episcopalian rectors did good service by undertaking the education of a few boys in addition to their regular duties. One of these was the famous Jonathan Boucher of Annapolis.

In an address prepared by Dr. Boucher in 1773, a vivid account is given of the sorry state of Maryland education on the eve of the Revolution. "In a country containing not less than half a million souls," so runs a part of this address

¹ Cf. FISKE, *Old Virginia and her neighbors*, II., pp. 246-253.

² STEINER, *Education in Maryland*, pp. 32-33.

³ ALEXANDER, *The Log College*, pp. 294, 305-306.

"(. . . a people further advanced in many of the refinements of life than many large districts even of the parent state, and in general thriving if not opulent) there is yet not a single college, and only one school with an endowment adequate to the maintenance of even a common mechanic. What is still less credible is that at least two-thirds of the little education we receive are derived from instructors who are either indentured servants or transported felons." ¹

In Rhode Island, a new beginning of secondary education was made in 1764, by the establishment of the University Grammar School at Warren. The Rev. James Manning, an excellent man, was the first master of this school. When later in the same year, Rhode Island College (now Brown University) was founded, Dr. Manning became its first president. The school was, in fact, the direct forerunner of the college, and when the college came into existence, the school was continued as one of its chief tributaries.²

We find no record of secondary education in Georgia previous to the Revolution. Much interest centred in the Orphan House at Bethesda, established by Whitefield, and long supported by funds which he solicited.³ Whitefield sought to carry this institution upward into a full collegiate organization. Franklin writes that the last time he saw him, the preacher consulted him with reference to his purpose of transforming his Orphan House into a college. When the college project failed, in 1767, because of disagreement with the Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitefield wrote to the governor of Georgia: "I now purpose to super-add a public academy to the Orphan House, as the College of Philadelphia was constituted a public academy, as well as charitable school, for some time before its present college charter was granted." ⁴ But the academy project, too, failed

¹ This address is found in BOUCHER's *View of the American Revolution*.

² TOLMAN, *History of higher education in Rhode Island*.

³ Many will recall at once the amusing story told by Franklin in his autobiography of Whitefield's success in persuading him to empty his pockets for the benefit of this charity.

⁴ TYERMAN, *Life of Whitefield*, II., p. 528.

for the time. Long after the Revolution, when the affairs of the Orphan House were wound up by act of the legislature, a portion of the proceeds went to the support of Chatham Academy.¹

While the Log College was engaging the attention of Presbyterians to the northward of Philadelphia, the presbyteries to the southward, in Pennsylvania and Delaware, were making plans of their own for the maintenance of a learned ministry. The most feasible scheme which presented itself to them was that of establishing a school which should conduct its students well on into the college course. It was thought that an arrangement might then be made with Yale College to take the students at that point and carry them forward to the bachelor's degree. Three presbyteries combined their forces to establish such a school in 1743. The Synod of Philadelphia approved of the enterprise, and took it in hand the following year. The Rev. Francis Alison was chosen master, at a salary of twenty pounds a year, with authority to select an usher who should receive fifteen pounds a year. The authorities of Yale College received the overtures of the new institution with friendly sympathy and apparently agreed to receive its students to such standing as their scholarship should justify, and to admit them to a degree after one year's residence. It is not known whether any students ever availed themselves of this privilege.

The master designated by the synod was pastor of a Presbyterian church at New London, Pennsylvania, and had already opened a school on his own account. This became the school of the synod in 1744. It was fondly hoped by the promoters that it would grow into a college; but the course of events led to the setting up of our first Presbyterian institution of higher education in New Jersey, under different auspices.

Francis Alison was one of the most learned men of his time in the colonies. President Stiles of Yale College spoke of him as "the greatest classical scholar in Amer-

¹ JONES, *Education in Georgia*, pp. 11-16.

ica, especially in Greek." He had a hasty temper — no uncommon thing in the school men of that time — but was placable, and commanded the love and respect of his pupils. Many of these attained to considerable eminence. In 1752 he withdrew from the school at New London to become the head of the academy established at Philadelphia through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin.

The school of the synod was continued; and was removed to Elkton in 1752, and to Newark, Delaware, in 1767. It was chartered by the Proprietaries two years later as Newark Academy. This was one of the earliest institutions for secondary education in Delaware. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had done much for education in the Three Lower Counties, but this was mainly of an elementary grade. The Newark Academy added an important element to the educational facilities of that region.¹

The effort of the promoters of the school at New London to maintain the requirement of some sort of college course in the case of candidates for the ministry is worthy of remark. It was easy for Yale College to co-operate with such a movement, for Connecticut Congregationalism was half-way Presbyterian. The Yale policy, too, at this time, was strongly opposed to the New Light party, with all of its tendency toward a social and educational levelling down.

Secondary instruction was given at many places in Pennsylvania during this period, but too often the efforts in this direction were short-lived. The stress of economic need and the pressure of war and political agitation, were unfavorable to spiritual concerns. Brave efforts were made by some of the German sects to maintain schools of high grade. The Quakers exerted themselves to the same end, often uniting their efforts with those of other denominations; and broadening their courses of instruction by the addition of mathematical and scientific subjects, to meet the demands of the time. Much good work was done in several communities

¹ ALEXANDER, *The Log College*, chapter 7. POWELL, *History of education in Delaware*. Catalogue of the Academy.

by the Episcopalian churches, in co-operation with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. And the Log College Presbyterians carried a zeal for classical instruction with them wherever they appeared.

Yet it was an uphill road that they travelled. "In 1775," says Mr. Wickersham, "not only was the number of scholarly men in the Province small, but comparatively few grown persons could do more than read, write and calculate according to the elementary rules of Arithmetic, and many remained wholly illiterate. There was little demand for higher institutions of learning, and few existed. The College and the Friends' Public School in Philadelphia, the Academy at Germantown, and scarcely half a dozen private classical schools in the older settled counties, with in all an attendance of three or four hundred students, absolutely exhaust the advantages of this character enjoyed at home by our Revolutionary fathers."¹

The several tendencies of this period were blended to a remarkable degree in the school established at Philadelphia through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. This school is believed to have been the first institution formally incorporated in this country under the title of *academy*. In many ways, its establishment marks the beginning of the first stage of that academy movement which had been foreshadowed by many variations from the earlier type of education, and for which the social, economic, and religious changes of half a century had prepared the way. The making of this school will be reviewed in connection with the story of the American academies.

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¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

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THOMPSON, REV. R. E. History of the Presbyterian churches in the United States. VI., 1895.

TIFFANY, REV. C. C. A history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. VII., 1895.

BACON, LEONARD WOOLSEY. A history of American Christianity. XIII., 1897.

A great mass of information is embodied in the

Classified digest of the records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1892, fifth edition. London: Published at the Society's Office, 1895. Pp. 16 + 984.

Chapter 94, pp. 743-768, contains a full history of the movement in favor of a colonial episcopate. Cf. CROSS, *The Anglican episcopate*.

For New England's part in the Great Awakening, we have the vivid accounts by JONATHAN EDWARDS, in his *Faithful narrative*, 1736, and *Thoughts on the revival*, 1742. These were reprinted in a volume entitled *Edwards on revivals*, published at New York, in 1832. The histories of Harvard and Yale Colleges, and New England state and local histories, give us many views of the awakening.

For the middle states, we get an insight into the nature and results of the awakening from ALEXANDER'S *Biographical sketches of the founder, and principal alumni of the Log College* (see Bibliography), and the several histories of the College of New Jersey.

A protestation presented to the Synod of Philadelphia, June 1, 1741. Philadelphia: Printed and sold by B. Franklin, 1741,

shows how intense an opposition to the movement was aroused within the Presbyterian Church.

Franklin printed also instalments of WHITEFIELD'S *Journal*. The original account of the Log College appears in vol. II. of

A continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's *Journal* during the Time he was detained in England, by the Embargo. Philadelphia, 1740.

FRANKLIN'S autobiography has much that bears upon the subject of this chapter. It is given in vol. I. of his *Complete works* edited by John Bigelow (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1887).

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TYERMAN, REV. L. The life of the Rev. George Whitefield. In 2 vols. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company, 1877.

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The works referred to which relate more specifically to the history of education, receive mention in the Bibliography at the end of this volume.

CHAPTER VI

COLONIAL SCHOOLMASTERS AND SCHOLARS

COLONIAL society was not yet democratic. There was much in it that pointed forward to democracy, but the leaders refused to believe the signs. Seventeenth-century America, like seventeenth-century England, presented well-marked social distinctions; the people constituted a succession of social planes. The highest and the lowest were lacking here, but the several grades of higher and lower were pretty sharply distinguished. The great body of the people were those known as Goodman or Goodwife So-and-so. Below these were common servants; above were families whose lords were entitled to the designation "Mr."¹ At the top were the magistrates and ministers. The intermediate ranks were carefully graded; and seats were assigned in the meeting house accordingly, one pew being designated as "first in dignety, the next behind it to be 2d in dignety," and so on.² Similar distinctions were observed in the colleges. At Yale, the practice of arranging the names of the students in the annual catalogue according to the rank of the parents was not discontinued till 1767; and at Harvard not till three years later.

According to Mr. Dexter's interesting monograph on this subject, it appears that the problem of "placing" the several

¹ Of the freemen of Massachusetts constituted before 1649, one in fourteen had the title *Mr.* Cf. WEEDEN, *Economic and social history*, I., p. 419.

² *Op. cit.*, I., pp. 74-75, 528-530, 699. The seating committee at Woburn, Mass., in 1672, was instructed by the town to respect "estate, office, and age" in the discharge of their function. At Stamford, Conn., in 1673, the seating was according to "dignity, agge and estate." *Id.*, p. 280. Changes in the system of seating were indicative of change in social conditions.

classes was a perplexing one to the college authorities, and became much more so as the eighteenth century advanced. Each class was placed late in the freshman year, and such placing continued unchanged throughout the college course except as students were occasionally degraded by way of punishment for some irregularity or other.

“Contrary perhaps to a prevailing impression, there was never any disposition to exalt the ministerial order above laymen of distinction. . . . Practitioners of medicine had not [by the middle of the eighteenth century] . . . gained a secure position as professional men. . . . The legal profession had gained an earlier and fuller recognition. . . . Next to the three learned professions ought to come that of the teacher; but not so in the regard of these college authorities. . . . Considerations of ancestral distinction, of family estate, of paternal position, and the like, entered into each case in ever-varying combinations, precluding the possibility of any cut-and-dried system.”¹

In the eighteenth century, wealth came to be a prominent factor in the determining of family rank; but in the earlier days, particularly in New England, no badge of nobility, other than civil office, was more universally recognized than superior education and ministerial standing. If these remarks relate more particularly to New England, it will be remembered that in the other colonies also definite gradations of social rank still persisted, and were recognized as a matter of course.²

In this state of society, no public secondary school seems to have been even thought of for the great body of citizens—the middle or lower middle class. It was thought desirable that all should know how to read. And a college training was needed by members of the directive class. The secondary school was not a mean between these extremes,

¹ DEXTER, *Social distinctions at Harvard and Yale*, pp. 16-19.

² See the shrewd comment on the democratic practices common in New Jersey, as contrasted with Virginia customs, in FITHIAN'S *Journal and letters*, p. 285.

but rather an institution subsidiary to the college; that is, a preparatory school in the narrower sense. Promising youth, whatever their social station, were encouraged to go to school. But their education was preparation for a place in an upper, that is, a ruling or at least a directing, class.

The ecclesiastical origin of our education is recalled by the fact that that portion of the directive class for which the colleges and grammar schools were chiefly intended was the ministry of the churches. The good of the state was thought of in all of these foundations; but the thought of the church was uppermost, and it is doubtful whether our earlier colleges would have been founded at all, if it had not been for the desire to provide an educated ministry. Closely connected with this desire was the ambition to educate the red natives of the country in the Christian faith — an ambition which appeared in both whimsical and pathetic manifestations.

Some of our novelists, exercising the freedom that belongs to art, have reconstructed the school life of colonial days in a way that historians can only look upon with wonder and great admiration. Mr. Dempster, the Scotch tutor of George and Harry Warrington, and his successor, Mr. Ward, whom Mr. Whitefield had expressly recommended, are as much alive as any colonial schoolmasters yet remaining. Miss Johnston has abundant justification in colonial documents for so villainous a character as Bartholomew Paris, in her story of *Audrey*. The account of King William's school in *Richard Carvel* is good enough to be true; but in it Mr. Churchill has employed his own resources to make good a defect in contemporary records. David Dove, who figures in the early chapters of *Hugh Wynne*, was an historical character. He held a place of considerable importance among our eighteenth century masters, and possibly deserved gentler treatment than he has received at Dr. Mitchell's hands.

But we are not wholly dependent upon fiction for our view of colonial schools and masters; and in a few instances

even the literary setting-forth of the career of our old-time teachers will stand comparison with the narratives of the novelists.

The schoolmasters of the colonial period may be roughly divided into three classes. There were a few men of scholarly preparation who made teaching the work of their lives, and kept up the best traditions of the free-school masters of Old England — of Mulcaster and Brinsley and Charles Hoole. Then there were young clergymen, and ministers of non-episcopalian denominations, recently from college, who taught school while waiting for a call to the pastoral office. Finally, there was a miscellaneous lot of adventurers, indented servants, educated rogues, and the like, all either mentally or morally incompetent, or both, who taught school only to keep from starving.

The social standing of these masters was variable, being largely determined by their individual character. In so far as their position can be spoken of in general terms, it was probably highest in New England, where we sometimes find them and their wives assigned to very honorable places in the churches. The complaint against the schoolmasters of Maryland as a class has been referred to already. But we find exceptions in plenty both north and south.

The head of our long line of really eminent masters is, beyond question, Ezekiel Cheever, and he is one of those who have been fortunate in having their praises worthily recorded. In his notable address at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Boston Latin School, Phillips Brooks made Cheever and John Lovell stand respectively for the spirit of the earlier and of the later colonial period. Of these two representative men the first-named was born at London, in 1614. Tradition represents him as having been a pupil at St. Paul's school. He was among the earliest of the New Haven colonists, and began teaching school in the town of New Haven within a few months after his arrival. A dozen years later, he became master of the school at Ipswich; then of that at Charlestown; and in

1670 he was called to Boston, and solemnly presented by the governor of the colony with the keys of the Latin School. He was master of this school continuously for thirty-eight years, and died in office at the good old age of ninety-four. He was buried from the schoolhouse; and Cotton Mather not only preached a sermon but also wrote a poem to his memory.

The poem is no worse than the common run of colonial verse, and certainly no more pedantic than the author's prose. After the inevitable quotation from the Latin, by way of introduction, it begins:

"You that are *Men*, & Thoughts of *Manhood* know,
Be Just now to the *Man* that made you so."

A few passages, some of them well worn by repeated quotation, may be given here. They tell something of Cheever, but more, to be sure, of Cotton Mather:

"A mighty *Trope* of Well-instructed Youth
Tell what they owe to him, and Tell with Truth,
All the *Eight parts of Speech* he taught to them
They now Employ to *Trumpet* his Esteem.

Magister pleas'd them well, because 't was he;
They saw that *Bonus* did with it agree.
While they said, *Amo*, they the Hint improve
Him for to make the Object of their *Love*.
No *Concord* so Inviolable they knew
As to pay Honours to their Master due.
With *Interjections* they break off at last,
But, *Ah*, is all they use, *Wo*, and, *Alas!*"

More follows in the same vein; but the task is too great:

"*Ink* is too vile a Liquor; *Liquid Gold*
Should fill the Pen, by which such things are told."

The learning of the master is extolled:

"Were *Grammar* quite Extinct, yet at his Brain
The *Candle* might have well been lit again.
If *Rhet'rick* had been stript of all her *Pride*
She from his *Wardrobe* might have been supply'd."

Speak the name of Cheever, and Echo will straightway answer, *Good Latin*. He was a Christian Terence:

“And in our *School* a *Miracle* is wrought;
For the *Dead Languages* to *Life* are brought.”

“His *Work* he Lov’d: Oh! had we done the same!
Our *Play-days* still to him ungrateful came.
And yet so well our *Work* adjusted Lay,
We came to *Work*, as if we came to *Play*.
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’Tis CORLET’s pains, & CHEEVER’s, we must own,
That thou, *New-England*, art not *Scythia* grown.”

Due homage is paid to the religious faithfulness of the master, and his instruction in Christian doctrine:

“He taught us *Lilly*, and he *Gospel* taught.”

There is real eloquence mixed with the petty conceits with which the master’s extreme old age is celebrated:

“Come from the *Mount*, he shone with ancient Grace,
Awful the *Splendor* of his Aged Face,
Cloath’d in the *Good Old Way*, his Garb did wage
A War with the Vain Fashions of the Age.
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He *Liv’d* and to vast Age no Illness knew;
Till *Times Scythe* waiting for him Rusty grew,
He *Liv’d* and *Wrought*; His Labors were Immense;
But ne’r *Declin’d* to *Praeter-perfect Tense*.
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So, Ripe with Age, he does invite the Hook,
Which watchful does for its large Harvest look;
Death gently cut the Stalk, and kindly laid
Him, where our God His *Granary* has made.”

The language of the sermon, and of “An Historical Introduction” printed with it, is of a like tenor: “He died . . . In the Ninety Fourth Year of his Age; after he had been a Skilful, Painful, Faithful *Schoolmaster*, for *Seventy Years*; And he had the Singular Favour of Heaven, that tho’ he had Usefully spent his Life among *Children*, yet he was not be-

come *Twice a Child*." "We generally concur in acknowledging that New-England *has never known a better* [schoolmaster]." "It was noted, that when *Scholars* came to be Admitted into the *Colledge*, they who came from the *Cheeverian Education*, were generally the most unexceptionable. What *Exception* shall be made, Let it fall upon *him*, that is now speaking of it." "*My Master* went thro' his Hard Work with so much *Delight* in it, as a Work for *God* and *Christ*, and His People: He so constantly Pray'd with us every *Day*, and *Catechis'd* us every *Week*, and let fall such Holy *Counsels* upon us; He took so many Occasions, to make *Speeches* unto us, that should make us Afraid of Sin, and of incurring the fearful Judgments of God by Sin; That I do propose him for *Imitation*." "Out of the *School*, he was One, *Antiqua Fide, priscis moribus*; A Christian of the *Old Fashion*: An OLD NEW ENGLISH CHRISTIAN: And I may tell you, That was as Venerable a Sight, as the World, since the Days of *Primitive Christianity*, has ever look'd upon." The master's acquaintance with the body of divinity is mentioned; and comment on his knowledge of the Scripture prophecies closes with the high praise that he was "A Sober Chiliast!"

All this is turgid enough, no doubt, but who can read it without some stirring of the heart? This old schoolmaster served a different age from ours, and one that was already passing away when he died. But he served it faithfully; and it was no mean age. "*He Dyed*," the sermon adds, "mourning for the Quick *Apostasie*, which he saw breaking in upon us." How much of this is Cheever and how much Mather it may be hard to say. He was "very easie about his own Eternal Happiness, but full of Distress for a poor People here under the Displeasure of Heaven, for *Former Iniquities*, he thought, as well as *Later Ones*."

Other New England worthies joined in eulogy of the great schoolmaster. Judge Sewall wrote in that remarkable diary, of his professional career, and added, "He has Laboured in that Calling, Skillfully, diligently, constantly, Religiously, Seventy years. A Rare Instance of Piety,

Health, Strength, Serviceableness. The Wellfare of the Province was much upon his Spirit. He abominated Perriwiggs.”¹

Governor Hutchinson spoke of him as “venerable not merely for his great age, 94, but for having been the school-master of most of the principal gentlemen in Boston who were then [1708] upon the stage. He is not the only master who kept his lamp longer lighted than otherwise it would have been, by a supply of oil from his scholars.”

Some further understanding of Cheever's character may be gathered from the autobiography of the Rev. John Barnard, who was one of his pupils. Barnard had become the head of his class in the Latin school (about 1692). “Though my master advanced me,” he writes, “yet I was a very naughty boy, much given to play, insomuch that he at length openly declared, ‘you Barnard, I know you can do well enough if you will, but you are so full of play that you hinder your classmates from getting their lessons; and therefore, if any of them cannot perform their duty, I shall correct you for it.’” The threat was duly carried out. One boy, out of pure mischief, repeatedly got Barnard into trouble in this way, until, failing of relief from the master, the unfortunate youngster took the case into his own hands, and gave the real culprit such a drubbing that he never came back to school.

We get another glimpse of the master, too good to be lost, in this same autobiography. “I remember once, in making a piece of Latin, my master found fault with the syntax of one word, which was not so used by me heedlessly, but designedly, and therefore I told him there was a plain grammar rule for it. He angrily replied, there was no such rule. I took the grammar and showed the rule to him. Then he

¹ Other good men shared in the opposition to the new fashion of wearing wigs, notably the Apostle Eliot. Cotton Mather remarked of him that, “The Hair of them that professed Religion, long before his Death, grew too long for him to swallow; and he would express himself continually with a boiling Zeal concerning it.” *Magnalia*, p. 180.

smilingly said, 'Thou art a brave boy; I had forgot it.' And no wonder; for he was then above eighty years old."¹

Late in the eighteenth century, President Stiles of Yale College gathered up some fragments of information from an old man, the Rev. Samuel Maxwell, of Warren, Rhode Island, who also had been one of Cheever's pupils. "He told me he well knew the famous Grammar School Master, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever of Boston, Author of the *Accidence*: that he wore a long white Beard, terminating in a point; that when he stroked his Beard to the point, it was a sign for the Boys to stand clear."²

Phillips Brooks, in the oration already referred to, expressed the wish that, in the absence of any authentic likeness, some artist would do for Ezekiel Cheever what one has already done for John Harvard, so that our thought of him may rest upon some noble expression of his character in stone or bronze.

John Lovell, who was designated by the great preacher as representative of the eighteenth century, was a man of a very different sort. He wore a periwig. He had gone through the regulation paces of the regular Boston boy: through the Latin School, and through Harvard College. His mastership of the Latin School began in 1734 and closed with the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

It was during this time that the religious revolution wrought by the Great Awakening was preparing the way for political revolution. But John Lovell was of that large number, of comfortable and highly respectable people, who were unmoved by either of these revolutions. He was of that conservatism which, in its effort to make no obeisance to popular tendencies, sometimes leans backward and becomes another sort of radicalism. This spirit was greatly on the increase in the colonies, especially in the more prosperous

¹ BARNARD'S *Autobiography* appears in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d series, V., pp. 177-243.

² *Literary diary of Ezra Stiles* (FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, Editor), I., pp. 227-228.

centers. It was in touch with Augustan England. Sometimes it was fixedly and traditionally orthodox; sometimes it drew near to English deism. In this latter form, it found a counterpart in the Enlightenment of the continent of Europe. On its less noble side, it appeared as a complacent and immovable toryism. John Lovell was a tory of the tories. To the boys he was "Old Gaffer," whatever that may mean.

"Though a severe teacher, yet he was remarkably humorous and an agreeable companion." Such is the description of him that has come down to us. Of the severity there can be little doubt, for it is attested in trembling accents by some of his pupils long after they had grown to manhood. "Lovell was a tyrant," says one of them, "and his system was one of terror. Trouncing was common in the school. Dr. Cooper was one of his early scholars, and he told Dr. Jackson, the minister of Brookline, that he had dreams of school till he died [!]. The boys were so afraid they could not study. Sam. Bradford, afterward sheriff, pronounced the *P* in *Ptolemy*, and the younger Lovell rapped him over the head with a heavy ferule."¹

This younger Lovell was James, the son of John, who had become assistant to his father in the management of the school. He had a son, also named James, who was a pupil in the school; and on one occasion grandfather John beat the little James till James the father rose in his place and said, "Sir, you have flogged that boy enough."

It must have been during the short and rare vacations — two in the year, at election and commencement times — that John Lovell appeared as the humorous and agreeable companion. On those occasions he went fishing with some of his friends, and the party "passed their time pleasantly in telling funny stories and laughing very loudly." Lovell allowed his best boys to go out into the open, and cultivate his garden for him. James Bowdoin and Harrison Gray Otis received this mark of distinction. They were

¹ *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVII., p. 79.

allowed to laugh as much as they pleased while they tilled. Another school honor was that of sawing the master's wood and bottling his cider. It was enjoyed by those future signers of the Declaration of Independence, John Hancock and Robert Treat Paine and William Hooper.

It would have grieved the master to the heart to know that he was bringing up young men for such rebellion. But James Lovell, the son, was himself an incipient rebel. The father's desk was at one end of the room and the son's at the other, so the tradition goes; and, facing in opposite directions, one taught the boys the rights of the crown and the other the rights of the people. On the nineteenth of April, 1775, Harrison Gray Otis, on his way to school, was obliged to make a detour to avoid the line of Percy's brigade, drawn up for the march to Lexington. He got into the school-room just in time to hear the words of the master, "War's begun and school's done: *Deponite libros*;" and then he "ran home for fear of the regulars." The following spring John Lovell, with many another loyalist, sailed off to Halifax, out of respect to Washington's guns new-mounted on Dorchester Heights.¹

These representative masters were both professional teachers, and each gave long years of service to a single school. The history of the Hopkins school at Hadley shows a different state of affairs. There the teachers were mostly young men just out of college, and on their way to the ministry; and they commonly remained with the school for one year only, or even for a shorter period.²

If we are to judge by the wide educational influence exercised by his disciples, we must count William Tennent the elder as one of our greatest eighteenth-century teachers. We know comparatively little about the actual schooling given in the Log College, or about the characteristics of the

¹ The documentary material relating to Cheever and Lovell will be found for the most part reproduced in HASSAM'S *Ezekiel Cheever* and JENKS' *Historical sketch*.

² *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVII., p. 152. *History of the Hopkins fund in Hadley*, ch. 7.

master. One who knew him well said of him that he could speak and converse in Latin with almost as much facility as in his mother tongue. He delivered at one time "an elegant Latin oration" before the Synod of Philadelphia. Dr. Alexander adds that his attainments in "science" were thought to be less considerable than his linguistic knowledge.¹ A young pedler appeared at the College one day and entered into easy conversation, in Latin, with Mr. Tennent. It turned out that this pedler, whose name was Charles Beatty, had received some classical instruction at his home in the north of Ireland before emigrating to America. Mr. Tennent quickly persuaded him to continue his studies at the Log College. In due time he became an able and honored minister, and a trustee of the College of New Jersey.

This is only one instance of Mr. Tennent's success in drawing young men of promise to his school, and then sending them out, on fire with zeal for religion and education, and fairly well prepared to render a good account of themselves. The master was already past middle life when he came to this country; and his Log College, established about 1726, was in existence hardly more than twenty years. Yet among its alumni were the Rev. Samuel Blair, who established the Fagg's Manor School; the Rev. John Blair, who succeeded his brother, Samuel, in charge of this school, and became a professor at Princeton; the Rev. Samuel Finley, D.D., who established a school at Nottingham, Maryland, and later became president of the College of New Jersey. Several other notable names might be added to this list; and if it were made to include those of a second generation — the pupils of Mr. Tennent's pupils — it would show a far-reaching and powerful educational influence.²

Much of colonial schooling was got from private teachers who set up in the business on their own account. The ad-

¹ The reference, I suppose, is to the philosophical sciences, as logic and metaphysics.

² ALEXANDER, *The Log College*, passim.

vertisements of such schools are common enough in colonial newspapers, and some of them are highly entertaining, being pretentious and bombastic to the last degree. The most of these school adventurers must have been utterly unworthy. The tutors in private families often were no better. It was no uncommon thing for the owner of a plantation to buy a schoolmaster for a term of years from the master of some incoming vessel. But there were many degrees of excellence among these tutors, even such as were redemptioners.

Philip Vickers Fithian, after graduating from the college of New Jersey, became private tutor in the family of Robert Carter of Virginia. His diary and letters give a vivid account of the school life on one of the best of the Virginia plantations. "I observe," he says, "that . . . it has been the custom heretofore to have all their Tutors, and Schoolmasters from Scotland, tho' they begin to be willing to employ their own countrymen."¹

Clergymen in many instances undertook, in addition to their ordinary duties, the instruction of a few boys, who were received into the pastor's family and given such special attention as the circumstances permitted. Jonathan Boucher is a notable example. He was considered one of the best preachers of his time in the Church of England. At the age of twenty-one, he went from his English home to Virginia as tutor in a private family. He continued for some years in this occupation, evidently making for himself a good reputation. Then he resolved to take orders, and accordingly returned to England, where he was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1762. Returning to America, he became successively rector of two or three parishes in Virginia, and finally of St. Anne's at Annapolis. According to his report, Annapolis was at that time "the genteelest town in North America." During his Virginia pastorates, he had nearly thirty boys at a time under his personal instruction. He continued his teaching after his removal to Annapolis,

¹ *Journal and letters*, p. 58. Interesting glimpses of the school are given on pp. 50, 277-280, and in numerous other passages.

and John Parke Custis, the stepson of Washington, was among the pupils who went with him to his new field. An interesting correspondence passed between Boucher and Washington with reference to the education of this boy.

Young Custis was fourteen years old when Washington applied to Boucher to receive him. He had been reading Vergil two years, and had made a beginning in the Greek Testament. He was untainted in morals and manners; and since he would inherit a large fortune, Washington was desirous of making him "fit for more useful purposes than Horse Racer." Boucher himself delighted in horse racing, but still more he delighted in literary pursuits. A theatre was built at Annapolis during his residence in the town, and he distinguished himself by writing some verses about one of the actresses, as well as a prologue or two. He wrote also a petition in verse in behalf of the old church, which was well received. And he was president of the Homony Club, which was composed of a few social and literary men, and was intended to promote genial fellowship.

He lamented in a letter to Washington that, though he had been teaching upwards of seven years, he could not boast of having brought up a single scholar. Washington was requested to look among his books for a copy of Cicero's ¹ *De officiis*, or epistles, and of Livy, doubtless for the use of the boy. Jacky was not distinguished for scholarship. He seems to have been a lovable youngster, but so susceptible to the influence of his companions as to cause no small amount of anxiety. Boucher believed that life in the school would be good for him, as enabling him to add some of the wisdom of the serpent to the harmlessness of the dove. At one time arrangements were making to send him to Europe for the advantage of travel with his tutor; and Boucher laid before Washington his ideas of the usefulness of an acquaintance with foreign countries.

¹ In earlier notices we commonly read of Tully's works. Boucher agrees with our current usage in writing instead, *Cicero*.

When the boy had been with Boucher for three years, Washington intimated to the rector that no great progress had been made in his studies. Boucher replied that he now understood the principles of what he had previously acquired by rote ; but added that "there is a Deal of Difference to be observed in y^e Educat^s a Gentleman, & a mere scholar." At this time the boy had begun arithmetic over again, and was about to enter upon the study of French. Dr. Witherspoon¹ had said that he ought to have been put into Greek. Boucher admitted that he had himself somewhat neglected his duty as tutor, but added the retort that he had given his pupil the training suited to a gentleman, rather than that of a pedant or schoolmaster. It was decided that the boy should go to college. There was a conference on this subject, and the merits and demerits of the colonial institutions were discussed in all frankness, with the result that Jack was sent to King's College in New York.

Boucher seems to have been admitted to intimate relations with the Washingtons. But with increasing estrangement between the colonies and the mother country, their friendship cooled ; for Boucher was an uncompromising loyalist, and spoke up fearlessly against the rebellious proceedings of the colonies. His last sermon at Annapolis was preached with pistols on his pulpit cushion, and closed with the words, "As long as I live, yea, while I have my being, will I proclaim God save the King." He returned to England in the fall of 1775, but before leaving America he wrote a scathing letter to Washington, in which he charged the Virginian, not with sharing in the persecution of himself, to be sure, but with having failed to lift a manly voice against such persecution.²

We find in this schoolmaster-clergyman a representative of the better tory element, which was driven from this country along with so much that was unworthy. In England he was given a vicarage, which he retained till his

¹ Doubtless President Witherspoon of Princeton College is meant.

² FORD, *Letters of Jonathan Boucher*.

death in 1804. He was held in much esteem, not only as a preacher, but also because of his literary, and particularly his philological distinction. A poetical epistle, addressed to him on his return from America, was published. He prepared a *Glossary of archaic and provincial words*, which was intended as a supplement to Johnson's dictionary.¹ But of especial importance from an American point of view was the publication of thirteen of his American discourses, under the title, *A view of the causes and consequences of the American Revolution*. This volume was issued in 1797, and, curiously enough, was dedicated to George Washington.

It must not be presumed that our schoolmasters of the time just previous to the Revolution were all tories. Indeed, there were among them some of the most ardent advocates of the American cause. Philip Fithian was one of these. He became a chaplain in the Continental army and died in the service. Dr. Joseph Warren, who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill, had been master of the Roxbury Grammar School. And Nathan Hale, "the Martyr Spy," gave up his school at New London, Connecticut, to enlist in the American army, at the first news of the battle of Lexington.

These men were among the most lovable and beloved of our early patriots, and their memory should be cherished in our school traditions. Dr. Eneas Munson of New Haven said of Nathan Hale:

"He was almost six feet in height, perfectly proportioned, and in figure and deportment he was the most manly man I have ever met. His chest was broad; his muscles were firm; his face wore a most benign expression; his complexion was roseate; his hair was soft and light-brown in color, and his speech was rather low, sweet, and musical. His personal beauty and grace of manner were most charming. Why, all the girls in New Haven fell in love with him,

¹ Only a portion of this work was published, and the manuscript is said to have come into the possession of the proprietors of Webster's dictionary.

and wept tears of real sorrow when they heard of his sad fate. In dress he was always neat ; he was quick to lend a helping hand to a being in distress, brute or human ; was overflowing with good humor, and was the idol of all his acquaintances." ¹

A brief note relating to Hale's characteristics as a teacher has come down to us from Samuel Green, one of his pupils at New London :

" His manners were engaging and genteel ; his scholars all loved him. While he was not severe, there was something determined in the man, which gave him a control of the boys that was remarkable. He had a way of imparting his views to others in a simple, natural method, without ostentation or egotism, which is a rare gift." ²

The pay of colonial schoolmasters can be adequately considered only in a comprehensive view of colonial wages, currency, and prices. This is too large a subject to be treated here ; but the story of colonial schools ought not to be left without some notes upon it. In the seventeenth century, the salary of the masters of grammar schools commonly ranged from twenty to sixty pounds per annum. Twenty pounds is so frequently mentioned, that it may almost be regarded as the standard, or perhaps the minimum rate, especially in the earliest times. The fees of the pupils were sometimes additional to the salary fixed by the school authorities, but more frequently included in it. Some mention is made, also, of gifts which the master might fairly expect from his pupils. For these there was abundant English precedent. Of more importance was the fact that a dwelling house was commonly provided for the master, with a garden plot, and sometimes a larger piece of land. This was additional to his regular stipend. In the eighteenth century, we find salaries mounting sometimes to one hundred pounds a year.

¹ Quoted in APPLETON'S *Cyclopædia of American biography*.

² PARTRIDGE, *Nathan Hale*, p. 49.

Gold and silver were scarce in the colonies, and in the earlier days the master was often paid "in kind." Mr. Dillaway, in his history of the Roxbury Grammar School, presents a facsimile of the "covenant" entered into by the feoffees of that school, in February, 1668-9, with John Prudden, schoolmaster. This master was employed to instruct the children of the "Donors" for one full year "in all scho-
lasticall, morall, and theologicall discipline,"

"In consideration whereof y^e aforesayd feoffees (not enjoying nor leting y^e said Prudden from teaching any other children, provided y^e number thereof doe not hinder y^e profiting of the fore-named youth) do promise and engage (for the due recompence of his labour) to allow y^e said John Prudden y^e full and just summe of twenty-five pounds: y^e one halfe to be payed on y^e 29 of September next ensuing y^e date hereof, and the other halfe on the 25 of March next ensuing, i.e., in y^e year (70), y^e said £25 to be payed by William Park and Robert Williams, their heirs and administrators at y^e upper-mills in Roxberry, three quarters in Indian Corne or Peas and y^e other fourth part in Barley, all good and merchandable, at price currant in y^e countrey rate, at y^e days of payment." ¹

Until 1709, the yearly salary of the teachers of the Hadley school, already mentioned, was from £30 to £40, payable in produce. After that date, payment was made in province bills, beginning at £26 per annum, and increasing to £40 as the money depreciated in value. Out of this salary the young schoolmaster paid his board, which cost him from 4s. 8d. to 5s. a week when his salary was about £40, and 3s. 6d. to 3s. 9d. when the salary was £30 or less. It is estimated that, after deducting the cost of this item, there remained a clear yearly income equivalent to from sixty to seventy dollars, counting six shillings to the dollar. The neighboring town of Northampton paid the masters of her grammar school, all educated men, the equivalent of eighty dollars a year and board, down to the time of the Revolution.²

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

² *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVII., p. 152.

An interesting excerpt from the town records of Hadley is given in the volume on *The Hopkins fund, grammar school and academy in Hadley*:

"Jan. 22, 1677. Voted by the town that Mr. Younglove shall have for his teaching school the next year the use of the House and Homestead belonging to the school with twelve Akars of land given by John Barnard and thirty pounds besides which shall be raised by the remainder of the school land the scollards and the Towne.

"Voted by the Towne that for the year ensuing all male children ffrom six years ould to twelve shall be compellable to pay to the scoole such as goe after tenn shillings by the year and they that goe not ffive shillings by the year and all others above the age expressed that are found Illiterate and goe not to paie ffive Shillings by the year, this order to begin its date May 1st next ensuing."¹

In the larger schools, the master was sometimes obliged to employ an assistant, or "usher," at his own expense. But this burden came to be borne in the same manner as the support of the master himself. The authorities were doubtless glad to see their school prosper, and unwilling to allow the teacher to be burdened with such expense because of his success in attracting pupils.

The number of pupils in these schools varied greatly. Ægidius Luyck had made a marked success of the school at New Amsterdam when he was able to show an attendance of twenty. One hundred was no uncommon number in the Boston Latin School near the beginning of the eighteenth century. Near the middle of that century, Josiah Pierce was teaching the Hopkins Grammar School at Hadley with all the way from five to thirty pupils in attendance. He complained that the most of the parents let their children play about the streets rather than send them to school.

The enumeration of pupils in the Roxbury school for the year 1770 is suggestive. It is given as follows:²

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

² DILLAWAY, *Free Schoole in Roxburie*, p. 66.

SCHOLARS.

Latin	9
Cypherers	20
Writers	17
Testament	10
Psalter	10
Spellers	19
	<hr/> 85

The schools were attended by boys only, and these came for the most part from the more prosperous families and those highest in social distinction. But this remark must be taken with many qualifications. Men of wealth, especially at the south, often employed private tutors, as we have seen, instead of sending their boys to a public school. On the other hand, much care was taken to give promising sons of poor parents a chance. There was no portion of the community that held learning in greater esteem than those families in which it was out of the question to send the whole troop of sons to a higher school, and one was elected to this distinction as representative of all.

The chosen son was sent to school as one dedicated to the service of God. There was a thought of old Hebrew precedents. Sometimes the eldest was taken, because Jehovah had claimed all first-born of men and of animals as peculiarly his own. Or if the eldest were a dullard or otherwise unworthy, another went in his stead, as the birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph, in place of Reuben. Sometimes, too, in the large families of that day, the one dedicated was given on the principle of the tithe. So the father of Benjamin Franklin set apart the young Benjamin for the ministry, and sent him to the Latin school, as the tenth of his sons.

The selective process was only begun when the boy was sent to the grammar school. The more competent masters were mighty winnowers, who rendered the community a noble service in finding possible scholars, and sending them on toward higher things. Ian Maclaren has told us how

it was done in Scotland, in his tale of the old Dominie who "had an unerring scent for 'pairts' in his laddies." "It was Latin Domsie hunted for as for fine gold, and when he found the smack of it in a lad he rejoiced openly. He counted it a day in his life when he knew certainly that he had hit on another scholar." New England was in many ways like Scotland; and Scotch masters became plentiful in our middle and southern colonies. It was no less true here than in Drumtochty that when such a boy had been discovered "his brothers and sisters would give their wages, and the family would live on skim milk and oat cake [or their colonial equivalents] to let him have his chance."

NOTE

The works newly referred to in this chapter either belong distinctly to the literature of American educational history, and are entered accordingly in our general bibliography; or are well-known works of general literature, which call for no further mention than appears in the foot-note citations.

CHAPTER VII

COLONIAL SCHOOLING AND SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

THE studies of the grammar schools were necessarily determined by the relation of those schools to the colleges. They taught such subjects as entered into the college admission requirements. These requirements at Harvard College appear as follows in that early apology for Massachusetts Bay Colony, the *New England First Fruits*: "When any Scholar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classically Latine Author *extempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose, *suo ut aiunt Marte*; And decline perfectly the Paradigm's of *Nounes*, and *Verbes* in the *Greek* tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge."¹

The laws for Harvard College drawn up in 1734 contain the following prescription: "Whoever upon examination by the President, and two at least of the Tutors, shall be found able *extempore* to read, construe, and parse *Tully*, *Virgil*, or such like common classical Latin authors, and to write true Latin in prose, and to be skilled in making Latin verse, or at least in the rules of Prosodia, and to read, construe, and parse ordinary Greek, as in the New Testament, *Isocrates*, or such like, and decline the paradigms of Greek nouns and verbs, having withal good testimony of his past blame-

¹ The Latin text of this rule is given by Cotton Mather as follows: "Cui-cunque fuerit peritia legendi *Ciceronem*, aut quemvis alium ejusmodi classicum autorem ex tempore, et congruè loquendi ac scribendi Latine facultas, oratione tam solutâ quàm ligatâ, suo (ut aiunt) marte, et ad unguem inflectendi Graecorum nominum, et verborum paradigmata; hic admissionem in collegium jure potest expectare; quicunque vero destitutus fuerit hâc peritiâ, admissionem sibi neutiquam vindicet." *Magnalia*, B. IV. pp. 132-134, quoted in PEIRCE, *History of Harvard University*, Appendix, pp. 48-49.

less behaviour, shall be looked upon as qualified for admission into Harvard College.”¹ The most noticeable change here is the addition of Vergil and of a Greek text.

Yale College was governed for some years after its founding by the Harvard laws. In 1745 the first complete body of laws drawn up for the use of the younger institution was adopted. The requirements for admission were then stated as follows: “That none may expect to be admitted into this College unless upon Examination of the President and Tutors, They shall be found able Extempore to Read, Construe and Parce Tully, Virgil and the Greek Testament; and to write True Latin in Prose and to understand the Rules of Prosodia, and Common Arithmetic, and Shall bring Sufficient Testimony of his Blameless and inoffensive Life.”² Here the addition of arithmetic is significant.

The requirements prescribed by the College of New Jersey in 1748 are of the same general tenor; but it was not till 1760 that candidates for admission at Princeton were required to “understand the principal rules of vulgar arithmetic.”³

At William and Mary College, the only entrance examination prescribed in the statutes adopted in 1727, was that of candidates for foundation scholarships, and it was intended only to discover “whether they have made due Progress in their Latin and Greek.” It was particularly enjoined that “no Blockhead or lazy Fellow in his Studies be elected.”

¹ PEIRCE, *History of Harvard University*, Appendix, p. 125.

The diary of Dr. Holyoke gives an account of an entrance examination held in 1742. Four boys were examined by the president and three tutors, as follows: “Tutors, 3d Æneid, 15 lines, Presi’dt, 2d Æneid, 24 lines, Virgil. — Tutors, 3d Catiline, Presid’t, 2d Catiline, Tully. — Tutors, 12th Luke, Presid’t, 25th Matthew, Greek Testament.” The following themes were then given out: “Sapientia præstat viribus,” “Labor improbus omnia vincit,” “Semper avarus eget.” Young Holyoke finished his theme six days later. *Op. cit.*, p. 238, foot-note.

² BROOME, E. C., *A historical and critical discussion of college admission requirements* (Col. Univ. Contribs., v. 10, nos. 3-4, April, 1903), p. 30.

³ MACLEAN, *History of the College of New Jersey*, pp. 132-133, 272.

The regulations for the grammar school connected with the college give us a little additional information, but not much :

“ Let the Latin and Greek Tongues be well taught. We assign Four Years to the Latin, and Two to the Greek. As for Rudiments and Grammars, and Classick Authors of each Tongue, let them teach the same Books, which by Law or Custom are used in the Schools of England. Nevertheless, we allow the School-master the liberty, if he has any observations on the Latin or Greek Grammars, or any of the Authors that are taught in his School, that with the Approbation of the President, he may dictate them to the Scholars. Let the Master take special Care, that if the Author is never so well approved on other Accounts, he teach no such Part of him to his Scholars, as insinuates any Thing against Religion or good Morals. And because nothing contributes so much to the Learning of Languages, as dayly Dialogues, and familiar Speaking together, in the Language they are learning ; let the Master therefore take Care that out of the Colloquies of Corde-rius and Erasmus, and Others, who have employed their Labours this Way, the Scholars may learn aptly to express their Meaning to each other.” ¹

Not much of detailed information has come to light respecting the sequence of exercises in the actual course of school instruction. It seems probable that there was but little variation for several generations from the traditional course of the grammar schools of Old England.

From the allusions and more direct testimony of Cotton Mather and John Barnard, we learn that in the days of Ezekiel Cheever, the master's Accidence was used by beginners in the Boston Latin School, and that it was followed by Lilly's grammar. The text authorized and prescribed in England is doubtless referred to in the latter designation. *Æsop's Fables*, the *Colloquies* of Corderius, the *Æneid*, Cicero's *De officiis* and orations (*Pro Archia poeta* being particularly mentioned), Cato, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were read. An exercise in turning one of the fables into verse is referred to.

¹ *Charter and statutes of the College of Willam and Mary.*

We have a somewhat more particular account of the studies at the same school in the time of Master Lovell, a few years before the Revolution.¹ The only requirement for admission at that time was the ability to read well; but in the private school where the small boys learned to read, they were also taught to write, and were introduced to English grammar through the medium of Dilworth's speller. Even after he had been admitted to the Latin school, at the age of seven, the boy whose recollections are the basis of this account was sent to a private writing school from eleven to twelve each forenoon for three years, where he did nothing but write; and if his memoranda are correctly interpreted, he went during the same period, from three o'clock to five each afternoon to a public English school, in which reading and writing were taught in the same room, to both boys and girls, from seven to fourteen years of age. In the school last named, the New England Primer was used, and Dilworth's spelling book, with the Bible as the only reading book. The master set sums for his pupils in a manuscript book, but went no further than the rule of three. During a part of this boy's school days, English grammar and geography were taught in only one school in Boston, and that was a private venture. He never saw a map in those years of schooling, except one that he did not understand, in an edition of Cæsar; and Lowth's English grammar was studied by his class in college.

These notes throw light on the studies of the Latin school mainly by showing what it did not teach. But information of a more positive sort follows. In the Latin school itself, the boys studied Latin from eight o'clock to eleven in the

¹ *Schools of the olden time in Boston.* Article in *The Common School Journal*, XII., pp. 311-315, October 15, 1850. The reminiscences were "found among the papers of an eminent clergyman, who was educated in Boston, just before the Revolution." It does not appear why the clergyman's name is withheld. The editor, Mr. Wm. B. Fowle, adds notes from his own recollections. These reminiscences are reproduced in the *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XIII., pp. 745-747, and XXVII., pp. 79-80. The reference given with the latter insertion is incorrect.

forenoon, and from one in the afternoon till dark. They began with Cheever's Latin Accidence, which was followed by Ward's Lilly's Latin grammar. The reading consisted of Æsop, with a translation; Eutropius, also with a translation; Corderius, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Vergil's *Georgics* and *Æneid*, Cæsar, and Cicero. Of these, Cæsar and the *Georgics* seem to have been less commonly used in grammar schools than the other works mentioned. In the sixth year of the course, the boy was half through Vergil. The master permitted the reading of such translations of Vergil as Trappe's and Dryden's. Composition was begun, apparently, at about the same time with the reading of Æsop or of Eutropius, and Clarke's *Introduction to writing Latin* was the first text-book used. Near the end of the course, Horace was read, and Latin verses were composed with the help of the *Gradus ad Parnassum*.

One or two additional items appear in the recollections of Harrison Gray Otis, United States senator, who entered the Latin school in 1773. "The school," he says, "was divided into seven classes. A separate bench or form was allotted to each, besides a *skipping* form, appropriated for a few boys who were intended to be pushed forward one year in advance. The books studied the first year were Cheever's Accidence, a small Nomenclature [Nomenclator?], and Corderius' Colloquies. The second year, Aesop's Fables, and towards the close of it, Eutropius and Ward's Lilly's Grammar. The third year Eutropius and Grammar continued, and a book commenced called Clarke's Introduction. In the fourth year, the fourth form, as well as the fifth and sixth, being furnished with desks, commenced 'making Latin,' as the phrase was, and to the books used by the third form Cæsar's Commentaries were added. After this were read in succession by the three upper classes, Tully's Orationes, the first books of the Aeneid, and the highest classes dipped into Xenophon and Homer. School opened at 7 in summer and 8 in winter, A. M., and at 1 P. M. throughout the year. It was ended at 11 A. M. and 5 P. M., at which

hours the greater part went to writing-school for an hour at a time — but a portion remained and took lessons in writing of 'Master James,' son of the Preceptor, and some young girls then came in to school." ¹

Latin was apparently three-quarters of the curriculum in the most of the grammar schools, or more likely nine-tenths of it, or nineteen-twentieths. Of the instruction in Greek, we get some hint in the "eminent clergyman's" recollections of the Boston Latin School, referred to above. The boy who was half through Vergil in the sixth year of his course, began at that time the study of Ward's Greek grammar. After this came the reading of the Greek Testament, in connection with which the boys were allowed to use Beza's Latin translation. This was followed with five or six books of Homer's *Iliad*, accompanied by Clarke's translation with notes, and that completed the course in Greek.

This boy's Latin-School course must have been altogether about seven years in length. He entered college at the age of fourteen years and three months. There he found that in Latin and Greek he was equal to the best in the senior class. Sallust and Xenophon were the only authors read in college that he had not already studied.

No mention is made in these recollections of any studies in the Latin school other than those in Latin and Greek, with the single exception that the student, in the sixth year, "for the first time attempted English composition, by translating Cæsar's Commentaries." It is evident, however, that the studies of such a school were not so exclusively formal and so barren of ideas as they are sometimes represented. The authors read were selected, in part at least, with a view to the content of their works. Their moral worth was a prime consideration. But in the reading of Eutropius the boys got a fair introduction to Roman history. Yet this again depended largely upon the skill of the teacher; for many a school-boy might construe a Latin author faithfully

¹ JENKS, *Historical sketch*, p. 36.

without having in the end any idea of what that author had said.

Grammar school masters in the colonies, like their brethren in England, raised their voice against the demand that they should teach little children their A B C. Stringent provisions were sometimes adopted to protect them against this imposition. Yet all but the best of these free schools might be found slipping back, whenever there was any relaxation of scholarly ambition; so that many of them must have been in fact, during a large part of their career, mere reading schools which gave a smattering of Latin to an occasional promising pupil.

The studies of the writing-arithmetic side of education, too, kept working over into the sacred enclosure. Sometimes the grammar master gave a little instruction of this sort; and sometimes he gave more, and openly advertised the fact. Sometimes a special teacher of these subjects was regularly attached to the school. The eighteenth century gave more and more countenance to this innovation, partly because of the growing influence of the commercial class, and partly, we may believe, because of some increase of hospitality toward studies not distinguished by tradition.

The new studies so admitted were of a commercial and mathematical sort: arithmetic and merchants' accounts; geometry, navigation, and surveying; and some closely related subjects. The enlargement of commercial operations, the growth of American shipping, particularly that engaged in the whaling industry, and the rapid extension of the zone of regular settlements, had much to do with the demand for studies such as these. Of course such studies, previous to the middle of the eighteenth century, had no connection with preparation for college. They represented the intrusion of a different view of the function of the school. They smacked of trade. The notion that they might have some sort of educational value in and of themselves, was not then abroad. Education in its several aspects was viewed as something institutional and practical. It was not for the

perfecting of human character, but for the training up of men to some sort of efficiency and public usefulness. The studies of the writing-mathematics group were not discounted because of their "practical" character, but because they were thought to minister to a lower and more private use than did the regular studies of the Latin school.

There was, however, one side of instruction which took account of the improvement of personal character for its own sake, and that was the inculcation of religious doctrine and the improvement of manners. Moral instruction was rarely prescribed as such, though Cato's *Distichs* supplied a compendium of moral precepts. For the rest, religion and manners covered practically the whole field. The doctrines of religion were all-important. The troublesome question of the relation of religion to morals had to be considered, to be sure, in the pulpit if not in the school. The Calvinistic communions, with their doctrine of a predestination that had nothing to do with moral considerations, were continually on their guard against the dangers of antinomianism; and how much of later American theology has been concerned with adjustments between the doctrine of salvation and the large human sense of right and wrong!

The subject matter of instruction in this domain was the catechism and reports of the sermons which the pupils were required to hear on Sundays and special occasions. Instruction in manners was immediately practical. In the early Quaker scheme of education there was much insistence on imparting a knowledge of the laws of the land. This sort of teaching, so strangely neglected in our own day, received but little notice in other colonial schemes of education. The ability to read and understand the "capital laws" of the country was, however, one object proposed in the educational legislation of Massachusetts in 1642 and in that of Connecticut in 1650.

We have the text of the rules adopted for two or three of our earlier grammar schools, and are able to get from them some idea of the ordinary working of those institutions.

When the first school committee was appointed for the oversight of the town school of Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1645, certain rules and orders were adopted in town meeting for their guidance. School hours were fixed as follows: From March 1 to September 30, from seven in the morning to five in the afternoon; for the remainder of the year, from eight o'clock to four. An intermission was provided for, from eleven to one every day; except that on the second day of the week, from twelve to one, there should be a public examination of the scholars in what they had learned on the Sabbath, and an inquiry into their conduct on that day. The schoolmaster was required to instruct such as were sent to him, whether their parents were rich or poor; and his instruction should be not only in "humane learning and good literature," but in "good manners and dutiful behavior towards all." Every day in the week there should be morning and evening prayer, and at two o'clock the scholars should be examined in the catechism.

The last and longest rule related to the correction of pupils: "9thly. And because the rod of correction is an ordinance of God necessary sometimes to be dispensed unto children, but such as may easily be abused by overmuch severity and rigor on the one hand, or by overmuch indulgence and lenity on the other," the schoolmaster should have authority to minister correction without respect of persons, and should not be hindered in the exercise of that authority. Nevertheless, parents who should think the master too severe might expostulate with him, and if still dissatisfied might appeal to the "wardens" (school committee); and the wardens were empowered in such a case either to dismiss the children of such parents from the school, or if the complaint seemed well founded, to propose to the inhabitants that the master be discharged. A similar proposal might be presented by the wardens if the master were found to be too lenient or guilty of "any other great neglect of duty." For the rest, the wardens were authorized to direct the affairs of the school in such manner as they should judge

"most conducive for the glory of God and the training up of the children of the town in religion, learning, and civility." ¹

The rules for the Hopkins Grammar School at New Haven (1684) prescribed still more terrific school hours — from six in the morning to four in the afternoon during the winter months, extended to five in the afternoon during the summer; with a daily intermission from eleven to one. The boys were to be examined Monday mornings upon the Sunday sermons; and from one to three o'clock of Saturday afternoons was to "be improved by y^e M^r in Catechizing of his Schollars y^t are Capeable." All boys from the county of New Haven should be instructed by the master "upon his salary accompt only, otherwise Gratis."

The daily routine in this school began with a short prayer, after which "the Master shall Assigne to every of his Schollars their places of Sitting according to their degrees of learning." Then, "having their Parts, or Lessons appointed them," the unfortunate youngsters were required to "Keepe their Seats, & stir not out of Dore," except as the master might give leave to one or two at a time. The strict injunctions against fighting, quarrelling, calling bad names, and the like, is suggestive of disorders which the masters had to contend with. It is more than likely that occasional outbreaks were the saving of youthful constitutions, which might otherwise have gone to rack and ruin for sheer want of change and exercise. Monitors were appointed to keep track of delinquencies, and at appointed times there was a clearing off of scores. Truancy and tardiness are among the faults provided against. One breathes more freely at the thought of out-door air called up by the mention of these misdemeanors. The master was charged to "give them due Correccion to y^e degree of y^e offence. And y^t all Correccions be wth Moderacion." ²

When Daniel Munson was engaged as teacher of the

¹ *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVII., pp. 106-107.

² *Id.*, XXVIII., p. 303.

Hopkins School in 1729, it was agreed that he should "keep the gramer scholl . . . about seven hours in the day in the winter season and about eight hours in the summer season in each day and not to exceed twelve play dayes in the year."¹

The code of regulations for the grammar school connected with William and Mary College has been referred to. The following paragraph from that document should be added :

"Special care likewise must be taken of their Morals, that none of the Scholars presume to tell a Lie, or Curse or Swear, or to take or do any Thing obscene, or Quarrel and Fight, or play at Cards or Dice, or set in to Drinking, or do any Thing else that is contrary to good Manners. And that all such Faults may be so much the more easily detected, the Master shall chuse some of the most trusty Scholars both for Publick and Clandestine Observators, to give him an Account of all such Transgressions, and according to the degrees of heynousness of the Crime, let the Discipline be used without Respect of Persons."

Boy life in those old schools must have been very different from that which we see in the secondary schools of our day. The boys were younger, to begin with. At the age represented by our high schools, a colonial boy would be in college, or have finished his schooling altogether. Such youngsters could not be expected to form clubs and edit papers and engage in interscholastic athletics. Not only their youth, but the habits and notions of the period were against it. Besides, nearly all of the good boy-hours in the whole year must be passed in the school room under the eye of the master. The main hope for anything like a good boy-time was in playing hookey or playing in school.

In the few hours that could be given to out-door sports, they had skating and coasting² in the winter, and in summer swimming, and a variety of games, including some

¹ BACON, *Hopkins Grammar School*, p. 57.

² A contemporary account of the famous interview of the Boston Latin School boys with General Haldimand (not General Gage) *in re* the injury to their coast, is given in MR. JENKS' *Historical sketch*, p. 40.

with ball and bat — remote forerunners of base-ball. Samuel Moody, the master of the Dummer School, paid great attention to the physical exercise of his boys, and was their leader and director in the regular practice of swimming.

The attempt was made here, as in England, to hold the boys to the use of Latin in their sports as well as during school hours. But the endeavor met with very little success. The William and Mary Grammar School regulations contained the direction, "If there are any sort of Plays or Diversions in Use among them, which are not to be found extant in any printed Books, let the Master compose and dictate to his Scholars Colloquies fit for such sorts of Plays, that they may learn at all Times to speak Latin in apt and proper Terms."

In the larger schools the boys were divided into "forms," those in the same class sitting together on one bench. The advance from one form to the next higher seems to have been made at yearly intervals. There was also a change of position from time to time within the class, according to the goodness or badness of the pupil's recitations. Emulation was freely employed, and the position of head of the class had strong attractions for some young scholars.

In Ezekiel Cheever's time at Boston, John Barnard had a competitor who "beat me by the help of a brother in the upper class, who stood behind master with the accidence open for him to read out of; by which means he could recite his [] *three* and four times in a forenoon, *and the same in the* afternoon; but I who had no such *help, and was* obliged to commit all to memory, could not keep pace with him; so he would be always one lesson before me."¹ The seven-year-old John was so distressed by this affair that he left school for a time. The incident shows, among other things, that the recitations in this school were individual, although the grading and classification of the pupils were regularly provided for.

¹ Quoted by JENKS, *Historical sketch*, pp. 26-27.

We find some little account of the houses in which these schools were kept. A writer already referred to in the *Independent Reflector* (New York City) for November 8, 1753, made an earnest plea for the establishment of public grammar schools in the province of New York, in the course of which he told, by way of illustration, of such schools "in the Colonies to the Eastward." It seems probable that the county grammar schools of Connecticut were especially intended. "They are built upon the Commons, contain but one Room, are tight and warm, and not more costly nor larger than a common Log Cottage. The Master suits himself with a Lodging in the Village, and so do his Pupils generally at a very cheap Rate."¹

✓ Not infrequently elsewhere the school house and the house of the master were one and the same building. This seems to have been the case at Boston during some part of the seventeenth century. But at another time we find in the Boston records a lot mentioned as lying between the school house and the house of the master. In the opening years of the eighteenth century, Boston built a new residence for the master and very soon after a new school house. From the selectmen's minutes, a pretty definite idea of this school house can be got. It was forty feet long by twenty wide, and eleven feet high in the studding. There were eight windows below and five in the roof. The building was clapboarded and shingled. There were stairs to the second floor, and a ladder from that floor to the bell. The main room was divided by a partition—the purpose of which does not appear. There were three rows of benches for the boys on each side of the school room.

Such, at least, was the building for which the selectmen contracted; and for erecting it the builder was to receive one hundred pounds, together with the materials of the old building, while he provided the materials for the new. It was in this building that Benjamin Franklin went to school.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

This school house was pulled down in 1748 to make way for an extension of King's Chapel, and again a new house was erected for the school, across the way.¹ This was a brick building, nearly square, with a cupola in which the bell hung. It had a school room on the main floor, and some use was made of an attic room over this.

One who was a pupil in this building described the school-room as follows: "The Master's desk was at the south [rear] end on the right side of the back door. . . The Usher's desk was in the northeasterly corner; between it and the [front] door was a small, or short seat and desk, in which a few of the first [lowest] class sat at times, as, I think, for want of room with the others; between this desk and the door came down a bell-rope. Then going round against the sun were the seats of the third and fourth classes, on the west side were the first and second, and on the east side were the fifth, sixth and seventh classes; the lowest class was without desks and not elevated from the floor." Another old-time school-boy adds to this account: "The back forms were two feet higher than the front, the windows so high that the boys could not 'shin up' to see the soldiers passing." Still another gives these additional items: "The boys of the younger forms sat on benches, with a box underneath in which to put their books; but after the fourth form, when they began to make Latin, they had desks in front of them on which to write."

These descriptions suggest a very plain and diminutive copy of one of those impressive old school-rooms of the English public schools which are so admirably pictured in Ackermann's work.²

¹ The town was dreadfully excited over this change. It was carried through the town meeting by a vote of 205 to 197. On this occasion, the wit of the town, Joseph Green, Esq., wrote a little skit that has become famous:

" 'A fig for your learning! I tell you the Town
To make the *church* larger, must pull the school down.'
'Unluckily spoken,' replied Master Birch,—
'Then *learning*, I fear, stops the growth of the *church*.'"

² See bibliographical notes to chapter 2. The school-rooms of Eton, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', and Harrow are especially suggested. The two

It is fair to presume that these Boston school houses were among the best of their time in this country, and that the worse provision for housing the schools, in many other places, assumed all sorts and degrees of badness. A letter has been preserved which was addressed by the school master at Roxbury to one of the feoffees of the Roxbury grammar school, about 1681. "Of inconveniences," it reads, "I shall instance in no other than that of the school-house, the confused and shattered and nastie posture that it is in, not fitting for to reside in; the glass broken, and thereupon very raw and cold, the floor very much broken and torn up to kindle fires, the hearth spoiled, the seats, some burnt and others out of kilter, so that one had as well nigh as goods keep school in a hog stie as in it."¹

It is a very interesting picture which Philip Vickers Fithian gives of Nomini Hall, the home of Councillor Robert Carter, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, where he served as tutor of Mr. Carter's children.² The "Great-House" on this estate stood at the centre of a large square, each corner of which was occupied by a smaller building — the stable, the coach house, the work house, and the school house respectively.

"The School House is forty five feet long, from East to West, & twenty-seven from North to South; It has five well-finished, convenient Rooms, three below stairs, & two above; It is built with Brick a Story and a half high with Dormant Windows; In each Room is a fire; In the large Room below-Stairs we keep our School; the other two Rooms below which are smaller are allowed to M^r. Randolph the Clerk; The Room above the School-Room Ben and I live in; & the other Room above Stairs belongs to

views which ACKERMANN presents of the room for the grammar school and the separate room for the writing school at Christ's Hospital, are interesting. The original material for an account of the successive buildings of the Boston Latin School are given in the great memorial Catalogue of that school published in 1886. Cf. the account of the school houses at Dorchester given in the *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVII, p. 108.

¹ DILLAWAY, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

² *Journal and letters*, pp. 127-132.

Harry & Bob. Five of us live in this House with great neatness, & convenience; each one has a Bed to himself."

Here Fithian taught his little school of three boys and five girls. His accommodations were more comfortable than those provided for the masters of public schools at the north, and it is doubtful whether any better could have been found in the whole south at that time.

The idea of a "free school" seems to have carried with it the thought of some permanent revenue apart from pupils' fees. It has been shown in the account of individual schools how various were the methods followed in providing for such revenue. A free school was commonly free to a limited number of pupils, or to such as were unable to pay. But the greater number of pupils paid a regular fee, which seems in most cases not to have gone above twenty shillings a year. Pupils were sometimes required in addition to provide each a fixed amount of wood for fuel.

In Massachusetts, the assessment and collection of school fees was found less satisfactory than the laying of a town tax for the support of schools; and accordingly by the middle of the eighteenth century the Massachusetts grammar schools had generally become free, in the sense in which the term is now used.¹

We have seen, in the chapter on colonial school systems, how the general direction of public education was gradually passing over from the ecclesiastical to the civil power. Our New England colonies and Maryland added some new impetus to this movement. We must now make note of the fact that the immediate control of individual institutions has followed a somewhat different course of development from that of general systems of administration. It does not follow that, because the rules and standards of public instruction are prescribed by civil authority, the several schools are managed by public corporations.

¹ MARTIN, *Massachusetts public school system*, pp. 51-52.

In England, even at the present time, there is a well-articulated state system of elementary education, largely supported by public funds, and carefully inspected by public officials. But more than half of the schools by which this education is provided are under the immediate management and control of certain religious societies. At the same time the secondary schools of England are for the most part under the management of various corporations — a separate one for each institution — with hardly more than the shadow of a state system over them all.

We shall perhaps best understand the development of our American types of school administration if we look first at the systems of college administration, which had eventually much influence upon the lower schools.

The form of external organization and control adopted for our earlier colonial institutions was largely determined by the forms with which the colonists had been familiar in the mother country, yet those forms were somewhat modified almost from the beginning. The common type of organization in English colleges was that in which the master or master and fellows of the school constituted a legal corporation, having full control of the institution in respect to both its financial and its educational concerns. The most obvious disadvantage of this system was that it gave to the teaching body the management of the funds out of which they themselves were paid.

It was plainly necessary that some check be added to this system, to prevent the misapplication of funds, and such a safeguard was commonly provided by the designation of some "third person" to act as visitor of the institution. By the "visitation" of an establishment was meant a formal inspection by the official visitor with a view to the correction of abuses, and particularly of any failure to conduct the institution in accordance with the true intent of the foundation. Under the common law, the right of visitation rests with the founder, and with those who may be designated by him as his successors. And the founder is the

donor of the first endowment, however insignificant it may be as compared with later gifts to the same object. It was a common practice of the founders of educational institutions to make the bishop of the diocese or some other dignitary of the church their successor in the visitatorial office.

This explanation may help to a clearing-up of the history of our own institutions. In the two main types of educational administration which have been developed on American soil, the visitors have been made identical with the corporation, the corporation at the same time being separated from the teaching body. Some of the stages in the development of these administrative systems will be considered as we proceed; for they are vitally connected with the development of American educational ideals, and of American civilization.

We find the title of *visitor* retained in connection with a few of our schools and colleges. The term *visitation* is rarely used among us except as applied to Providence. We hear occasionally of such providential visitation as an earthquake or a flood or an epidemic of cholera. This survival of the term may be a reminder of the fact that a righteous visitor was dreaded like the plague by the managers of charitable foundations who had abused their trust; and it might be added that an over-zealous and meddlesome visitation must have plagued many a righteous corporation.

The English system was not wholly satisfactory at home, and even if it had been unobjectionable, some adjustment to colonial conditions would have been found necessary. But various mixed and tentative forms of organization were adopted in different places before anything like agreement was reached.

Harvard College seems to have been managed at first by direct action of the General Court of the colony; then by the Board of Overseers; then by its close Corporation, subject to a sort of visitatorial supervision by the Overseers. The Corporation contained members of the teach-

ing force at first, but was gradually transformed into an outside body, the most of the members having then no pecuniary interest in the institution. The constitution of the Board of Overseers was the subject of much debate and went through various transformations, which need not concern us here.

William and Mary College, too, had a composite organization, with reminders of the English type. The president and professors of the college were made a corporation, empowered to hold and manage the property of the institution. But the general laws for the government of the college were prescribed by another body, the "Visitors and governors," who also appointed the members of the teaching corps. This board of visitors was a self-perpetuating body.

When the establishment of a college in Connecticut was under discussion, the projectors took all manner of pains to seek out the best available form of organization. They seem to have been sensible of danger to such an institution from both the civil and the ecclesiastical power. If we may trust the account of President Clap, ten ministers, who had been designated for the purpose by some sort of common consent, constituted themselves the founders by formally donating each a number of books for the founding of a college in Connecticut. The institution was set up and continued for many years under a preliminary act of the legislature; but it attained to its full collegiate existence with the granting of a regular charter, in 1745. The charter conferred corporate powers on a body to be known as "The President and Fellows of Yale College in New Haven." This was a simple, close corporation, without limitation as to the persons who might be appointed to fill vacancies in its membership. The word "fellows" was used in the title, after the English fashion; but it was not understood to mean members of the teaching force. The president and fellows were given absolute control over the financial and educational administration of the institution.

A few sporadic examples of this simple and flexible type

of control are found among the lower schools before the charter of Yale was granted ; yet Yale became so influential in this matter, by becoming a prolific mother of schools and colleges, that we shall not be far amiss if we call this the Yale type of administration.

The other colleges that were founded in the colonial period for the most part followed the lead of Yale in this matter, with only slight variations.¹ All but Brown and Pennsylvania had charter provisions making certain civil officers members *ex officio* of their boards of trustees. Columbia had, in addition, certain ecclesiastical members *ex officio*. But in every such case the members *ex officio* were less than a majority of the board. Brown was the only one which made members of the teaching body (besides the president) members also of the corporation. In no case was there provision for visitation by any other body than the corporation itself.² And in all of them, vacancies in trusteeships not held by the incumbents *ex officio* were to be filled by vote of the remaining trustees.

After the middle of the eighteenth century, the example of the colleges plainly influenced the organization of the secondary schools ; and there appears a clear tendency toward the establishment of such schools under close corporations. But through the greater part of the colonial period, the close corporation type of organization is only one among several found in schools of this grade. Especially where local government was in vigorous life, and where the schools were local institutions in that each was intended chiefly for the benefit of the home community, the public might be expected to have a considerable part in their inception and management, and such was actually the case.

¹ There were six of them : The College of New Jersey (Princeton), 1746 ; King's (Columbia), 1754 ; The College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania), 1755 ; Rhode Island College (Brown University), 1764 ; Queen's (Rutgers), 1766 ; and Dartmouth, 1769. The modern names are given in parentheses, and are used for convenience in the text.

² The charter of King's College even provided expressly that the institution should not be subject to visitation by any other person or persons.

In the early days in Massachusetts, a vote of the town meeting appointing a schoolmaster was a common way of making a beginning in the setting up of a school. And the town seems to have proceeded in this very direct fashion in the transaction of school business after the beginning had been made. The action of Dorchester, in appointing a permanent board of "wardens or overseers," in 1645, was an important step. These wardens were chosen for life, but vacancies in their number were to be filled by vote of the town.¹

The first donors to the support of a free school at Roxbury appointed seven feoffees as a board of control. It was provided that vacancies in the number of feoffees should be filled by appointment of the donors or their heirs. But in default of such appointment within one month, the remaining feoffees were empowered to elect a successor. There was much complaint among the townsmen in later years on account of the private character of this system of control. Similar complaint seems to have been common enough at Hadley. The town had no effective check upon the management of its school, and attempts to bind the close-constituted school committee by votes in town meeting made no end of friction and trouble. When a free school was first set up in New Haven, the pastor and magistrates were charged with making rules and orders for its management, and also with determining what contribution should be made out of the funds of the town for its support. When the Hopkins fund became available, the Hopkins trustees designated "the town court of New Haven, consisting of the magistrates and deputies, together with the officers of the

¹ The action of the town is recorded in the quaint language of the time: "[They] shall Continue in their office and place for Terme of their liues respectiuely vnlesse by reason of any of them remouing his habitation out of the Towne, or for any other Weightie reason, the Inhabitants shall see cause to Elect and Chuse others in their Roome, in wch cases and vpon the death of any of the same wardens, the Inhabitants shall make a new Election and choice of others."

church there," as their assigns for the management of the foundation.¹

In the New England towns it seems to have been taken as a matter of course that the schools should be inspected by the ministers. In Boston, soon after the death of Cheever, the town undertook to "nominate and appoint a certain number of Gentlemen of Liberal Education, Together with some of the Rev^d Ministers of the Town, . . . to Visit y^e School from time to time, when and as oft, as they Shall think fit, To Enform themselves of the Methods Used in Teaching of the Schollars and to inquire of their Proficiency, . . . the Master being before notified of their coming . . . And at their said Visitation, One of the Ministers by turns to pray with the Schollars, and Entertain 'em with Some Instructions of Piety Specially Adapted to their Age and Education." Increase Mather was highly indignant when he learned that the town had ventured to associate laymen with the ministers in the discharge of this function.

In some of the southern colonies, the judges of county courts were now and then charged with the management of schools. It is fair to assume that they were generally the best educated of civil office holders, and their professional training and instincts would distinguish them as safe custodians of trust funds. But whatever the reason for such selection may have been, we find incumbents of judicial offices repeatedly charged with the external management of schools.

In Virginia, the happy suggestion that law and gospel should combine for educational purposes evidently met with favor. Benjamin Syms designated the justices of the peace of the county of Elizabeth City, together with the minister and church wardens of Elizabeth City parish, and their successors, as trustees of his endowment for a free school in the county named. The legislature, by an act passed in 1753,

¹ BACON, *The Hopkins Grammar School*, p. 52. I believe this trust was made over to a private corporation later in the seventeenth century, but have no definite information on this point.

confirmed this appointment and incorporated the board of managers thus constituted, as "the Trustees and Governors of Syms' free school in the County of Elizabeth City." Church and court were combined again in an act of 1759, which incorporated the "Trustees and Governors of Eaton's Charity School," a board identical in its membership with that erected for the management of the Syms school.

In South Carolina, the corporation erected by the acts of 1710 and 1712 for the control of the free school at Charleston was a self-perpetuating body. The act of 1722 proposed, as was stated, to establish grammar schools in the several counties and precincts through the agency of county and precinct justices. But this combination of judicial and educational functions was not a success: or rather, it was for the most part a very dismal failure.

The corporation set up by the Maryland act of 1696, under which King William's School was established, was a self-perpetuating body. So, also, were the several county boards erected by the act of 1723. Whatever emphasis may have been laid on the idea of general public control of education, by the action of the legislature in this matter, was offset by the adoption of a plan which shut out the public from any direct participation in the affairs of the several schools.

There seems to have been a good deal of groping about in the effort to find a good, working organization for the William Penn Charter School at Philadelphia. The charter of 1701 committed the management to the monthly meeting of the Quakers. That of 1708 entrusted it to a board of fifteen overseers, all of them Quakers. Finally, the charter of 1711 continued the board of fifteen overseers, with power to fill vacancies in their own number, subject only to the limitation that "discreet, religious persons" should be so chosen.

A combination board of trustees was erected for the control of the free school established in New York in 1732. It was composed of the justices of the supreme court, the

rector of Trinity Church, and certain public officials of the City of New York. It seems to have been a favorite idea in that colony that various elements and interests should be represented in a board of educational control. This idea is found yoked up with the close corporation in the early organization of King's College. The state did not settle down to simpler forms of organization until the earlier tendency had reached a ridiculous climax in the first University act of 1784.

The religious activity of the second quarter of the eighteenth century had given a great impetus to the establishment of colleges in the middle and northern colonies. It was a time when many private academies of the log college type were opened. But on the whole, it was not a time when education flourished. The colleges were not largely attended. The willingness of the people to listen to moving pulpit orators who had not been regularly trained in the schools, combined with other influences to weaken the demand for an educated ministry. The interests of the Latin grammar schools were bound up with those of the colleges to which they were tributary. They suffered because the colleges suffered. But it was not only the little academies, and the change in religious conditions with which they were associated, that worked disadvantage to the regular colleges and grammar schools. There was observable a great increase of civic and secular spirit which had little regard for the strict ecclesiasticism of the established institutions.

In Massachusetts and Connecticut, the more zealous orthodoxy of the time was doubtful concerning the established education, believing it to be tainted with heresy. In Virginia, Presbyterians, Baptists, and secularists alike were against William and Mary College and the church establishment of which it formed a part. The time was not come when a school system, at once civic and non-sectarian, could be seriously considered. So the signs all pointed to a splitting up of educational interests, and the setting up of institutions, compactly organized, each standing by itself,

free from entangling alliance with the shifting, crumbling, or hopelessly unchanging institutions of church and state about it. The close corporation met this need, and provided at the same time for effective business management. We have seen that the later colonial colleges tended strongly toward this type of administration; and it became the prevalent type in the rising academies.

It appears that a new spirit was coming into American education, which, however gradually, was transforming old institutions and making new ones, and becoming really itself through this process. One of the most notable of these institutions was the academy. The American institution bearing that name did not come into being, however, apart from all European precedent. The study of its origin will take us into one of the most important by-ways in the history of English education, with which the next chapter will have to do.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

CHEEVER'S *Accidence* was the most famous if not the only text-book for secondary schools published in this country during the colonial period. Interesting notes upon it appear in BARNARD'S *Am. Journ. Ed.*, I., pp. 310-311; and XXVII., pp. 73-74. It was widely used, not only in colonial times, but well down into the nineteenth century. The latest edition was issued in 1838. The Rev. Samuel Bentley, D.D., of Salem, who died in 1819, said of it, "Before Mr. Cheever's *Accidence* obtained, Mr. John Brinsley's method had obtained, and this was published in 1611,¹ three years before Cheever was born. It is in question and answer, and was undoubtedly known to Cheever, who has availed himself of the expression, but has most ingeniously reduced it to the form of his *Accidence*, — 134 small 4to pages to 79 small 12mo, with the addition of an excellent Table of Irregular Verbs from the great work of the days of Roger Ascham." *Loc. cit.* Cf. STEINER, *Education in Connecticut*, p. 23.

The *Accidence* served as a Latin primer, and after completing it the pupil was put into Lilly's grammar. John Ward's edition of Lilly came into use shortly before the Revolution. It was published in London, in 1755, and was in three parts. The first part (71 numbered pages) was —

¹ I do not think there was any earlier edition than that of 1612.

A short introduction of grammar, generally to be used : Compiled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intend to attain to the knowledge of the Latin tongue.

The second part was the real Lilly, all in Latin (pp. 139). The third was —

Propria quae maribus, quae genus, as in praesenti, syntaxis, qui mihi, construed (80 pages).

This last-named division begins with “Dicas *you may call*, propria proper names, quae *which* tribuuntur *are given* maribus *to males*, mascula masculines ;”

and so on to the end.

CATO'S *Distichs* had been a text-book from the Middle Ages down. Nothing is known of the author. It has been surmised that he lived under the Antonines.

FR. ZARNCKE, *Der deutsche Cato*. . . . (Leipzig, 1852, pp. 6 + 198), gives a history of mediæval translations of this work. It was edited by Erasmus, with commentaries. In the library of Columbia University there is a copy of the sixth edition of a book edited by N. BAILEY, and bearing this title :

Cato's distichs de moribus. With a numerical clavis, and construing and parsing index. . . . To which is added, An English translation of Erasmus's Commentaries on each distich. . . . London, 1771, pp. 132.

The following are examples of these distichs :

“Si Deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt,
Hic tibi praecipue, sit pura mente colendus.”

“Nil temerè uxori de servis crede querenti ;
Saepe etenim mulier, quem conjux diligit, odit.”

“Nè dubites, cum magna petas, impendere parva ;
His etenim rebus conjugit gratia charos.”

This is paraphrased, “One good turn deserves another.”

“Uxoris linguam, si frugi est, ferre memento :
Namque malum est nil velle pati, nec posse tacere.”

This is accompanied with the ambiguous paraphrase, “A talkative Wife, if honest, is to be born with.”

There is also in the library of Columbia University an extensive treatise (pp. 640) on Cato, including the commentaries of numerous authorities, together with the Greek metaphrase of Maximus Planudes. It was published at Amsterdam in 1759, and bears the title, *Historia critica Cato-niana*

EUTROPIUS (fl. 380 A.D.) was the author of a brief history of Rome, in ten books. It is published with an extensive proaemium by H. DROYSEN, in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, I., part 1. This text has long been out of use in the schools of this country; but it has recently been issued by the American Book Company in an edition prepared by DR. J. C. HAZZARD.

In the Library of Congress there is a copy of

The charter, and statutes, of the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, in Latin and English. Williamsburg, 1736, pp. 122;

which I have used in preparing the present chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENGLISH ACADEMIES

PLATO taught his disciples in the grove of Academus, and his school was called in consequence *The Academy*. But how did the name come to be applied to humble institutions for secondary education on this Western Continent? The history of the word is of interest chiefly because of the light which it may throw on the history of the institution. The commonly received account is that offered some years ago by Dr. Henry Barnard; and, though open to criticism at several points, it may well serve as our point of departure in this inquiry:

“The earliest English or American use of *academy*, as applied to an institution of instruction for youth, we find in Milton’s letter to Samuel Hartlib, in 1643, where the Academy, by which he designated his institute for a complete and generous culture, covers the whole field of the grammar school, the college within the university, and the university. The Non-conformists applied the term to their boarding schools, which in grade of instruction, resemble nearly the English Public School, or the endowed grammar school. In this sense Defoe uses the term in his *Essay upon Projects* first published in 1699,¹ and at the same time employs it, in the general English usage, to designate an association of philologists to improve and perfect the English tongue like the French academy. In the essay cited, Defoe gives the plan of an Academy for Music, with hints for cheap Sunday concerts; an Academy for Military Science

¹ The copy of the *Essay upon projects*, in the Boston Public Library, is dated 1697.

and Practice; and an Academy for Women — the earliest project of a school of this grade for women in England or America by near a century. From Defoe we can easily trace the earliest use of the term in this country to Franklin, who acknowledges, in his autobiography, his indebtedness to Defoe's *Essay upon Projects* as having influenced some of the principal events of his life, and designates his plan for public education of youth in Pennsylvania, *a project of an academy*. After Franklin's pamphlet, which had a very wide circulation, and which will be found bound up with other pamphlets of the Revolutionary period in most of the old libraries of the country, the term, and the institution itself became quite common. In many states before 1800 Academies were established with Boards of Trustees, and certain corporate powers after the plan of Franklin, and not a few of them bore his name."¹

The use of the word *academy*, to designate some sort of school was not uncommon among the great humanists of the Continent. And Milton's letter to Samuel Hartlib may fairly be called the last of a long and notable line of essays on education called out by the renaissance. Among its predecessors are to be mentioned the treatises of Æneas Sylvius, Guarino, Erasmus, Vives, and Ascham.²

But Milton was more than a man of the renaissance. To say nothing of his puritanism, he was a true contemporary of Bacon and Descartes; of Comenius, too, though he dismisses the *Janua* with a shrug; of Pascal and Locke and Newton. Standing midway between Erasmus and Rousseau, he belongs to both the renaissance and the return to nature. In two luminous sentences he places the two schools of thought side by side, and allies himself with both. "Seeing every nation affords not experience and tradition enough for all kinds of learning, therefore we are chiefly taught the languages of those people who have at any time been most

¹ *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXX., p. 760.

² Four of the earlier essays of this class are reproduced, in English translation, in WOODWARD'S *Vittorino da Feltre*.

industrious after wisdom." It would be difficult to find a better putting of the classical spirit in education, as it is at its best. "Because our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible, as by orderly conning over the visible and inferior creature, the same method is necessarily to be followed in all discreet teaching." That is the spirit of our natural science, as seen from afar by one who knew how to be both a Puritan and a poet in the seventeenth century. And his way of bringing the two views together, in some stereoscopic unity, appears from the added clause, "that language is but the instrument conveying to us things useful to be known." Such hospitality toward many kinds of knowledge has more than once been found in the masters who know indeed; but those who have shown it seem to belong of right to our modern world.

There is that in the brief Tractate on Education which stirs one like the sounding of a trumpet. It is the free setting forth of an education "for all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war," by one who has known "many studious and contemplative years, altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge." It has been slighted as being unpractical, but its excellence is seen in this, that it does not accommodate itself to any petty conception of what is practical or practicable.

It is a scheme for the education of "our noble and our gentle youth" between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. The schooling of this period is to be the concern of a single institution, an "academy," which shall be both school and university. This academy does not offer instruction in the most elementary arts; nor does it provide for the professional training of future practitioners in law or medicine; but it carries to completion "those general studies which take up all our time from Lilly to commencing, as they term it, master of art."

Such general studies, in Milton's thought, shape themselves into a wonderful curriculum. First comes the Latin

grammar; then as soon as the pupil can read a little in Latin, he will study some classical work on education,¹ which can hardly be anything else than the first two or three books of Quintilian. Some beginning is now made in arithmetic and geometry; and the time between supper and going to bed is taken with easy studies in religion and the Scripture history. The next Latin authors to be read are such as treat of agriculture — Cato, Varro, and Columella. These are to be followed by some modern work on “the use of the globes,” that is, astronomy and geography; or “any compendious method of natural philosophy.” At the same time, Greek is begun with the study of the grammar, which the pupil will easily master. Then Greek writers on “historical physiology,” Aristotle and Theophrastus, are to be read, along with Vitruvius, Seneca’s natural questions, Mela, Celsus, Pliny, or Solinus. Studies in mathematics are to be carried forward into trigonometry, with practical application to fortification, architecture, engineering, or navigation. Natural philosophy will be continued in the study of “the history of meteors, minerals, plants, and living creatures, as far as anatomy.” Then follows, in natural sequence, an introduction to the study of medicine.

In all of these studies of nature and of the occupations which deal with the physical world, the experience of practitioners in the several fields is to be utilized, so that the pupils may get “a real tincture of natural knowledge.” Then the poets who deal with nature, both Latin and Greek, will be found agreeable reading.

By this time the pupils will have attained to sufficient maturity of judgment to profit by the reading of the Greek and Latin moralists. The mention of these leads to a word on the deep question of the relation of morals to religion. This was touched on early in the essay, where, the end of learning having been set forth as the regaining of a knowl-

¹ This attempt to make the learner conscious, from an early period, of the processes of his own education, finds a parallel in the practice of Chinese schools.

edge of God, it was added that such knowledge should lead men to love Him and be like Him, "as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection." So pagan virtue and Christian faith were brought together. Now the working out of this union in practice is proposed; for the heathen moralists, studied during the day, "are still to be reduced in their nightward studies wherewith they close the day's work, under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon, or the evangelists and apostolic Scriptures."

After ethics, economics; and, Italian having been "easily learned, at any odd hour," the boys may now read, under caution, in choice comedies, Greek, Latin, or Italian, and tragedies that deal with household matters. Then politics, with law and legal justice, Hebrew, Grecian, Roman, and Saxon; the common law and statutes. The evening studies are to be supplemented with theology and church history on Sundays. Hebrew will have been mastered before this, "whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect." The great masterpieces of Greek and Roman literature are to be read, histories, epics, tragedies, orations. And along with them, "those organic arts," logic, rhetoric, and poetics.

Milton protests against requiring small boys to compose in Latin, out of the extreme poverty of youthful wits; but after the mind has been enriched and the judgment strengthened by this long course of reading and study, he would have the composition of various forms of discourse appear as one of the most advanced exercises of the school. English as well as Latin composition is evidently intended.

Much stress is laid upon physical exercise, and particularly such as would form good soldiers. A wholesome diet, too, is urgently recommended. Music is to recreate and compose the spirit in the time of rest from exercise, and also to assist nature in the process of digestion after meat. In the spring, time the young men are not to study overmuch, but rather

to ride out over the land, looking upon the riches of nature, and observing the strategic, industrial, and commercial advantages of different sections; or to gain some knowledge of seamanship. Such means would give exercise to a variety of gifts, "and if there were any secret excellence among them would fetch it out." After the course in the academy is completed, the young men may travel abroad, but foreign travel at an earlier period is not recommended.

Such is the high and magnificent scheme of education which Milton proposes. He insists that it is possible, and at the same time admits "that this is not a bow for every man to shoot in, that counts himself a teacher; but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses."

Milton himself taught for a time, and in his school made use of a formidable list of Latin and Greek authors in the domain of natural science, and works relating to those occupations which depend upon a knowledge of nature. Dr. Johnson, who had also been a schoolmaster, treated Milton's service as a teacher rather contemptuously; and pronounced with patronizing finality against magnifying the study of natural science in the schools. But Johnson lived a century later than Milton, and was doubtless inveighing against a tendency of his own time, which, reinforced by French influence, was already going further than anything with which the seventeenth century had been familiar. Johnson set the knowledge of moral philosophy over against the sciences of external nature, to the disadvantage of the latter.¹ Milton, however, seems to have had in mind the study of nature as a propædæutic to the study of conduct and religion, as well as a preparation for efficiency and usefulness in the varied activities of life.

It may readily be supposed that the schools set up by dissenting clergymen, under the most unfavorable circumstances, were little like the academy proposed by Milton. Yet we may see now and then in the history of those

¹ *Lives of the English Poets: Milton.*

schools some line which recalls the grand scheme of the *Tractate*. There is reason to believe that the poet's ideal academy is related to those very humble and proscribed academies, however much the family likeness may have been obscured in the realization. It is not improbable, too, that Milton's use of the word *academy* may have been partly responsible for the general employment of the term by English dissenters to designate the schools which they erected.

The history of these schools goes back to the Protectorate. Oliver Cromwell undertook the establishment of a college or university, to be supported by the sequestrated funds of the episcopal see of Durham. Richard Frankland was called to preside over this institution. Like so many other brave beginnings made by the Protector, this was brought speedily to an end by the Restoration. Frankland then retired to a small estate which he possessed at the village of Rathmill, near Giggleswick, and there, in 1665, opened a private school, which may be regarded as the first of the academies of the dissenters.

Under the Act of Uniformity, as renewed in 1662, nearly two thousand English clergymen were driven from their parishes as nonconformists. This was not far from one-fifth of the whole number of rectors and vicars in the English Church.¹ These dispossessed clergymen had, many of them, been educated at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Being deprived of their livings, it is not strange that a goodly number turned to teaching as a means of gaining a livelihood.

But other considerations influenced them to the same end. Nonconformists were excluded from the English public schools and universities. In the midst of educational advantages among the best in the world, the dissenting bodies were threatened with the very danger that beset the colonists in far-off New England, the danger that learning would be buried in the graves of their forefathers. Their minis-

¹ See GREEN, *History of the English people*, bk. VIII., ch. 1.

ters of succeeding generations would not be men bred at universities; and their young men destined for other professions would have no fair preparation for competing with practitioners who were communicants of the established church. A high sense of duty to their fellow-sectarians, then, moved these ministers to offer the best substitute they could provide for the instruction of the higher schools.

The Act of Uniformity, and the Five Mile Act which followed, put all possible hindrance in the way of their undertaking. Any schoolmaster who should venture to give instruction before he should have received a license from the ecclesiastical authorities, was threatened with imprisonment; and that license might be obtained only after the most solemn and explicit declaration of conformity to the English Church. These stringent provisions were only partially relaxed by the Toleration Act of 1689, and it was an uncertain, half-outlawed existence which was led by the schools of the ejected ministers. Yet these private and obscure academies multiplied, and the work which they accomplished was undoubtedly a public service of no small importance.

In spite of obstacles such as these, Frankland continued his career as tutor for the term of thirty-three years. It is said that three hundred students came under his instruction. John Bowes, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Nicholas Sanderson, the blind mathematician, who was made professor at Cambridge, were among the number. The successor of Frankland, the Rev. Timothy Jollie, had also been a student in the academy. He is spoken of in terms of praise for his eloquence and the attractiveness of his personal character, but some little apology is offered for his lack of extensive learning.

We have information respecting upwards of thirty other institutions of this class that were opened before the American Revolution. They are associated with the names of eminent men, some of them the very saints of English non-conformity, and others among the foremost churchmen of the time.

There was an academy kept by John Woodhouse at Sheriffhales, in Shropshire. Mr. Woodhouse must have been one of those men of the seventeenth century who were possessed of a mighty love for knowledge of many kinds, and who loved also to impart to others what they had themselves acquired. We are told that he lectured at Sheriffhales on logic, anatomy, mathematics, natural philosophy, ethics, and rhetoric, besides directing the studies of his students in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and in English composition. He marked out theological reading for those who were destined for the ministry, and read once a week an appropriate lecture to those preparing for the practice of law. In addition, "all the classes were exercised at times in land surveying, dialling, making almanacks, and dissecting animals."¹ Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, were among his students.

One of the best known of the earlier academies was that of the Rev. Charles Morton, at Newington Green. Mr. Morton was an accomplished gentleman, "as far from pride as ignorance," according to one who knew him well. He drew up for his students a compendium of logic, a system of politics, and rules for the guidance of candidates for the ministry. He "Read all his Lectures, gave all his Systems, whether of *Phylosophy* or *Divinity*, in *English*; had all his Declaimings, and Disertations in the English Tongue." It is Daniel Defoe who gives this account. His schooling was got in Mr. Morton's academy, and when he speaks in adverse criticism of such institutions, he excepts the school of his former master. "Tho' the Scholars from that Place were not Distitute in the Languages," he continues, "yet it is observ'd of them, they were by this made Masters of the *English* Tongue and more of them excelled in that Particular, than of any School at that Time."²

Another famous pupil of Mr. Morton's was Samuel Wesley, the father of John and Charles. Samuel Wesley,

¹ *Quarterly Journal of Ed.*, I., p. 51.

² *Present state of parties*, p. 319.

after leaving the academy, became a clergyman of the Church of England, and in the year 1704 he entered upon a bitter warfare against the educational system of the dissenters. His three pamphlets upon this subject called out two in reply by Samuel Palmer. The controversy brought both the excellences and the defects of the then existing academies out into the full light of day.

There is a little more that should be told of Mr. Morton. He was greatly harassed in his educational activity by proceedings against him in the ecclesiastical courts. One favorite method of attack by those who conducted such proceedings was to accuse the defendant of having violated the oath that he had taken at the university, on the occasion of the conferring of his academic degree. There were others who shared this difficulty with Mr. Morton; and to settle the case of conscience which was involved, he drew up a careful dissertation upon the obligation of such oaths. Since the times, back in the middle ages, when the two universities had been troubled with the secession of students, some to Northampton, some to Stamford, candidates for degrees had been required to swear most solemnly that they would not read lectures as in a university at any other place in England than at Oxford or Cambridge. The form of oath differed a little in the two institutions, and the meaning was certainly open to dispute. Mr. Morton maintained the thesis that the oath debarred no one from lecturing upon subjects taught in the university, but only from engaging in the exercises connected with the granting of degrees. By this argument he helped himself and his brethren over a troublesome point.

But he finally grew tired of incessant bickering and litigation, and in 1685 emigrated to Massachusetts. In New England he was held in high esteem. He was chosen to an important pastorate and is said to have been made vice-president of Harvard College.¹ He died in this country in 1697.

¹ I am not sure of the correctness of this statement, which commonly appears in the accounts of Mr. Morton's career.

There was another academy at Newington, under the direction of Theophilus Gale. This gentleman had a great reputation for scholarship, based on a book, *The court of the Gentiles*, of which he was the author. His successor in the academy was Thomas Rowe, who had the proud distinction of having Isaac Watts among his students. This fact is worthy of more than passing notice; for there is perhaps no one name more truly representative of the eighteenth-century academies than is the name of Dr. Watts. This gentle hymn-writer was never an academy instructor, though he served for four years as a private tutor. But his introduction to astronomy was widely used in the academies of both England and America, his text-book in logic was given an important place even in the English universities, and his little work on *The improvement of the mind* was a favorite academy text for two or three generations.

Watts entered Mr. Rowe's academy in 1690, at sixteen years of age, and remained there for four years. He was already proficient in Latin, which he had begun to study at the age of four. In the academy he was known as a student of unusual character and attainments. His tutor seems to have been well worthy of the charge of so promising a youth; and the pupil honored his master in after years with a poem "To the much honored Mr. Thomas Rowe, the director of my youthful studies." It was the master's freedom from the trammels of tradition which the poet remembered with especial gratitude — not exactly what one would expect from Isaac Watts, nor think of in connection with a nonconformist school. Yet, in a mild way, this was highly characteristic of both. What with his broad sympathy and liberal tastes, Watts was charged in his lifetime with Arminianism and with the still more deadly heresy of Arianism. But whatever doubts may have been felt as to his orthodoxy, he was dearly loved by all manner of people, Anglicans, Calvinistic dissenters, and heretics as well.¹ So

¹ Dr. Johnson held him up for imitation, "all but his non-conformity." "Few books," said the Doctor, "have been perused by me with greater

he spread a genial and wholesome influence, which did not end with his life nor with the century to which he belonged.

His literary taste was refined and he was famed for his wit. He was not of the highest order of intellect, and in his philosophical writing he leaned on other men — on Locke and Le Clerc and Sir Isaac Newton. Yet it was no small service to make available for use in the schools those conceptions which were giving new direction to the intellectual life of England. And it was through books like those of ✓ Watts and schools like the academies, that the higher thought of the time filtered down into the middle classes of society, which were slowly coming into prominence in the life of the English nation.

Aside from theological doctrine, the real intellectual stimulus of the eighteenth-century academies seems to have come largely from John Locke and Sir Isaac Newton; and while the thought of these master minds oftenest reached the schools through the writings of Watts and other popularizers, there are other instances in which we find the original masterpieces freely studied in the academies. The deeply religious character of both Locke and Newton, and the fact that, though churchmen, they were both earnest advocates of a large toleration, commended them to the men concerned with the building up of academies; and the wide intellectual hospitality which they themselves displayed and their success in enlarging the range of human thought and knowledge, appealed to academy men on the side of their intellectual tastes. So the influence of these two friends is found back of the academy movement in successive stages of its progress.

In view of this fact, it might be expected that Locke's work on education would have become the pedagogical handbook of academy masters. The book was indeed widely read, and it seems to have had some influence on pedagogic

pleasure than his *Improvement of the mind*." He gives Watts the credit of having "taught the Dissenters to court attention by the graces of language." *Lives of the poets: Watts.*

usage. But it was not an age in which educational theory passed readily over into educational practice. The academies had grooves of their own. Their tradition of teaching was not ready to yield to newly promulgated principles of teaching.¹

Returning to Mr. Rowe's academy, we may note that among the schoolmates of Isaac Watts were John Hughes, the poet and dramatist, and Josiah Hort, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam. It was said, moreover, of Mr. Rowe that "to his exertions as a tutor, the dissenters are indebted for a race of divines, who filled their churches with great reputation."²

There was another academy, at Gloucester, kept by the Rev. Samuel Jones, which calls for special mention; for it was here that two who in after years attained great eminence in the Church of England, were fellow students and close friends. One of these was Joseph Butler, who became Bishop of Durham, and wrote the famous *Analogy*; the other was Thomas Secker, who, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the chief contributors to the controversy respecting the establishment of a colonial episcopate.

Samuel Jones was probably born in America, for his father was pastor of a congregation in Pennsylvania. He was educated in Holland, at the university of Leyden, and must have opened his academy at Gloucester soon after leaving the university. The institution was so successful that it was soon moved to larger quarters, in Tewkesbury. Isaac Watts was in some way concerned with procuring young Secker's admission to this academy; and Secker

¹ "Who that reads at all has not read Milton's 'Tractate on Education'; and also Locke's: and who having read them, does not speak of them in terms of the highest commendation? Yet, how little has either the one or the other contributed to improve the national system of education!" BOUCHER, *Discourse on American education* (1773). This, to be sure, is the testimony of a colonial churchman, and does not relate directly to the dissenters' academies of the mother country. See also the interesting notes on Locke's influence in QUINCY, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, pp. 19-20.

² WILSON, *Dissenting churches*, III., p. 171.

wrote Watts a letter, in 1711, which gives us some insight into the management of the institution.¹ Mr. Jones is described in this letter as a very courteous gentleman, "of real piety, great learning, and an agreeable temper." He was found always ready to enter into conversation upon any useful topic. He encouraged the students to offer objections to his opinions, even during the progress of the regular lectures.

The course of study was about four years in length. There were sixteen students at the time referred to, some of them mature men, or such as had already studied at other academies. They were obliged to rise at five o'clock every morning, and to speak only in Latin, "except when below stairs amongst the family." The morning session was two hours in length, and that of the afternoon a little longer. The morning was devoted to logic and Hebrew; the afternoon began with a critical lecture upon the history and language of the Scriptures, which had been undertaken at Mr. Watts's suggestion. This was followed by the reading of a chapter in the Greek Testament; and after that, mathematics. This programme was varied on Wednesdays, when Dionysius' *Periegesis* was read in the morning, with notes, chiefly geographical, and no lecture was given in the afternoon. Saturday afternoon, too, there was a change, those who had finished logic having a thesis, and the others being free. At some time not specified, Isocrates and Terence were read, each twice a week, and a class was to be formed for the study of Jewish antiquities.

Heereboort's logic was studied; but it was supplemented with explanations and corrections by the tutor, and the reading of "far the greater part of Mr. Locke's Essay, and the Art of Thinking." Short dictations were given, and at the beginning of each lecture hour the class recited on both the previous lecture and the reading. It was Mr. Jones's custom to refer his students to the chief authorities

¹ This letter is reproduced in *Isaac Watts; his life and writings, his homes and friends.*

upon the various subjects studied, and they seem to have read somewhat widely in preparation for their recitations.

In Hebrew about twenty verses were assigned daily from some of the easier parts of the Bible, and each member of the class was required to read two of these verses and turn them into Greek, without knowing in advance which verses would fall to his lot. In mathematics the class had gone through such portions of algebra and proportion as were commonly taught, together with the first six books of Euclid. The next class was expected to do more than this.¹

We look in vain for some sign of out-door exercise in this programme. There was free time, it would seem, and sports may have been indulged in. But if so, they were beneath the notice of this eighteen-year-old divinity student. It is much more likely that it would have been thought unbecoming in prospective ministers to take any sort of exercise at all, beyond a formal walk of short duration.

Other famous academy instructors of the earlier days were Mr. Doolittle, an Oxford graduate, who taught in Islington, and had Matthew Henry among his pupils; Joshua Oldfield, who had studied at Cambridge and won approval from Sir Isaac Newton, and who taught at Coventry, at Southwark in London, and at Hoxton: many of his pupils became men of mark; Samuel Cradock, another Oxford man, who taught at Wickhambrook, in Suffolk; and Matthew Warren, who had an academy at Taunton.

But perhaps the most famous of the eighteenth-century academies was that opened at Northampton, in 1729, by Philip Doddridge, and presided over by him for twenty-two years. Dr. Doddridge was one of the most notable dissenting ministers of the time and his academy naturally exercised a very wide influence. Before entering upon the

¹ According to his biographer, Bishop Porteus, Secker at nineteen had made considerable progress in Greek, Latin, French, Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; in geography, logic, algebra, geometry, and conic sections; and had taken a course of lectures on Jewish antiquities. *The works of Thomas Secker*, I.

undertaking, he had prepared himself for it with the utmost care, reading everything he could find upon the subject of education, and availing himself especially of such assistance as could be got from the writings of Isaac Watts, and from notes on the lectures of Samuel Jones, loaned to him in manuscript by former students of that great teacher.

His school had on an average about thirty-four students, the most of whom lived under one roof, with their tutor. It soon became necessary to employ a regular assistant, who had charge of the younger boys, or in the Doctor's absence managed the whole institution. The Northampton students did not begin the day so early as those at Tewkesbury. Six o'clock was their rising hour in summer and seven in winter. Those who were not on time must pay a fine in money, as also any who were away from home after ten at night. At morning worship, some of the students read a chapter of the Old Testament from Hebrew into English; at evening worship a chapter of the New Testament was read from Greek into English. The Doctor commented on these passages. It is hinted that at the morning exercise the young men sometimes slipped in an English Bible along with the Hebrew text, and thereby greatly facilitated their translations.

Students were expected to learn Rich's shorthand, and use it in taking notes on lectures and making extracts from the books which they consulted. In the first two years of the course, much attention was paid to the reading of classics in Latin and Greek, on which the students were supposed to have made a good beginning before entering the academy. Doddridge insisted more strongly, as time went on, upon the importance of classical training for future ministers. In the earlier years, he had sometimes admitted to his school young men of twenty-three or even older, who had made but little preparation in the Latin and Greek, but gave decided promise of usefulness. Later, however, he was less inclined to such leniency, and he began before his death to make arrangements for the preliminary training of

promising youth who had not had good opportunities for classical study. Not infrequently, too, he set some of his more advanced students at work helping such of the beginners as were backward, especially in their Greek. Students were given an opportunity of studying French. The influence of the school was favorable to a wide literary culture. A library of several thousand volumes was provided, and students were given advice and encouragement in the use of books, including the masterpieces of general English literature.

Other subjects studied during the first year of the course were logic, rhetoric, geography, and metaphysics. Dr. Watts's text-book in logic was used. The instruction in rhetoric is said to have been slight; that in geography better; that in metaphysics only an outline, preparatory to later studies. Geometry and algebra were also presented, in lectures, followed by trigonometry, conic sections, and celestial mechanics. The last-named study dealt chiefly with propositions from the works of Sir Isaac Newton. There were studies also in "natural philosophy . . . illustrated by a neat and pretty large apparatus." Natural and civil history were barely touched by the way. High praise is given to the instruction offered in anatomy. Jewish antiquities and ecclesiastical history were also studied. One day every week was set apart for public exercises, orations, homilies, and the like, and great attention was paid to these performances. But the head and front of the whole system of instruction was Dr. Doddridge's *System of Divinity*. The account which is given of the pains bestowed on the perfecting of this system, and of the free discussion of disputed points which was encouraged in the course of the Doctor's instruction, makes a very happy impression.

It would appear from what has been said that this was simply a school for the training of ministers. Such, however, was not the case. Ministerial training was undoubtedly the uppermost thought in the conduct of the academy, but students intended for other vocations were also in

attendance here, as at other academies. Dr. Doddridge expressed the belief that lay and ministerial students might better receive instruction in separate schools, but he never acted upon his own suggestion.¹

Dr. Ashworth was the successor of Dr. Doddridge in the management of this academy, and under him it was moved to Daventry. Here one of the most distinguished pupils was Joseph Priestley, who became famous in after years both as a physicist and as a Unitarian theologian. Priestley was himself for some years instructor in an academy at Warrington. He made the acquaintance of Benjamin Franklin, and the last ten years of his life were passed in Pennsylvania, where he died in 1804. He was at one time called to a professorship in the University of Pennsylvania, which, however, he declined.

A school of somewhat different sort should be mentioned here — that at Kingswood, the head of a long line of Methodist educational institutions. It was at Kingswood that George Whitefield began his career of out-door preaching, early in the year 1739; and a few weeks after this beginning, he secured the first contributions for the establishment of a school for the Kingswood colliers. The movement, however, soon passed out of Whitefield's hands, and was taken up by John Wesley. The school was opened in 1740. At the first it was of a very elementary character; but in 1748 it was enlarged and raised to a higher rank, though an elementary school, too, was still carried on for many years. The remodelled institution was a boarding school, and was "for above half a century Methodism's only college."²

There is much that is interesting in the story of the changes which came over these institutions in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The nineteenth century, too, with its long record of relaxation of ecclesiastical limi-

¹ KIPPIS, *Life of Doddridge*, passim.

² The story of this school may be found in TYERMAN, *Life of John Wesley*, I., pp. 269-270; II. and III. passim.

tations, has made great transformations, and the time has even come when at Oxford, nonconformity has its representative college. But it is no part of our present purpose to follow the course of this history beyond our colonial period. It may not be amiss to express the hope that our English brethren, who have done much excellent work of late in the history of education, will give us a full account of an institution which stands in such close relations with our own educational development as does the old *academy*.

In general, it may be said of these academies, that while endeavoring to keep alive the tradition of scholarship among the dissenting bodies, they represented, in more ways than one, a revolt against tradition. They not only undertook to give instruction in the studies commonly pursued in the English universities, but they reached out after new learning in the many forms in which it was then opening up, whether in or out of the universities. This characteristic is set forth by Isaac Watts, in the verses addressed to Mr. Rowe, which have already been mentioned.

The poem is entitled *Free Philosophy*.

“ Custom, that tyranness of fools,
That leads the learned round the schools
In magick chains of forms and rules !
My Genius storms her throne ;
No more, ye slaves, with awe profound
Beat the dull track nor dance the round ;
Loose hands, and quit the enchanted ground :
Knowledge invites us each alone.”

No doubt Watts wrote a good deal of verse that was very much better than this, but as the expression of a new spirit in education it is a noteworthy production. He continues :

“ I hate these shackles of the mind
Forg'd by the haughty wise ;
Souls were not born to be confin'd,
And led like Samson blind and bound,
But when his native strength he found
He well aveng'd his eyes.”

“I love thy gentle influence, Rowe ;
Thy gentle influence, like the sun,
Only dissolves the frozen snow,
Then bids our thoughts like rivers flow,
And chuse the channels where they run.”

Then follows a burst of exultation, the free expression of a spirit that

“Will thro’ all Nature fly ;
Swift I survey the globe around,
Dive to the centre thro’ the solid ground,
Or travel o’er the sky.”

It was impossible that such feeble institutions as the academies should head a revolt like this without laying themselves open to all manner of criticism. Much of their instruction was superficial, as a matter of course. Their tutors were bitten with the zeal for many knowledges, when their facilities for carrying on any line of instruction were woefully cramped and mean. The schools were generally lacking in libraries and other appliances. They lacked the scholastic atmosphere of the older seats of learning. Their greatest imperfection, according to Defoe, was “want of conversation ;” which might have guarded their students against the danger of pedantry.

The more favored institutions among them had an offset for these deficiencies in the personal excellence of their instructors, some of whom must have been rare teachers, learned, catholic in their tastes, and inspiring in their intercourse with young men. There is something that wins respect and interest in the whole-hearted way that men like Woodhouse and Morton and Doddridge gave themselves free range over the fields of knowledge, regardless of scholastic traditions ; and led their students to an acquaintanceship, not only with things human and divine, but with things of the natural world as well. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that there was something of the spirit of John Milton in all of this activity.

But the students too often came to the academies without sufficient preparation, from homes in which there were no traditions of culture; and too often they found there only the narrowest sort of instruction in the classics, and in the theology and ecclesiastical polity of the dissenters. The ordinary course of instruction is said to have been five years in length, or in more fortunate cases and especially at a later period, six years. Defoe entered Mr. Morton's academy at fourteen, and is believed to have continued there for five years. But the poverty of many students led to their being hurried through in only three years. Many young men, "fund-bred," as Defoe called them, were supported through their academy course by small scholarships which benevolent persons had provided. Then they rushed off, at the earliest possible moment, to accept a call, unwisely extended, to the pastorate of some feeble congregation, or to make way for a successor in their scholarship.

It may very well be that Benjamin Franklin had been interested in the idea of an academy as suggested by Defoe, in the *Essay upon Projects* and others of his writings. Defoe touched the public life of England at many points, and the practical sense and far reach of many of his observations would appeal strongly to such a man as Franklin. The varied suggestiveness of the *Essay upon Projects* in particular is such as might well make it the seed-corn of practical undertakings.¹

But we are not limited to the supposition that Defoe was the only channel through which a knowledge of the English academies reached America. The men who were concerned in the conduct of those institutions were often such as were in touch with certain aspects of colonial life. Charles Morton, as we have seen, spent his later years in New England. The word *academy* in its English sense must

¹ It should be said that the academies of which the *Essay* speaks are all of them special institutions. No suggestion is offered respecting the ordinary schooling of young men. Defoe's account of Mr. Morton's academy appears in *The present state of parties*.

have been familiar in that region by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Both of the Mathers used the word, applying it to the New England colleges. Judge Sewall and Secretary Addington applied it to the proposed college at New Haven. The connection was particularly close between the men of the eighteenth-century academies in England and the men of the Great Awakening in America. Jonathan Edwards wrote his *Faithful Narrative*, at the request of Isaac Watts and Dr. Guyse of London, who added to it a preface of their own. In his *Thoughts on the Revival*, a little later, Edwards called attention to Dr. Doddridge's account of the religious influences at work in his academy at the English Northampton, and recommended that people of means in this country should proceed to establish schools. Whitefield, too, as he went up and down the country, carried with him a knowledge of and interest in the academies of both England and America. He spoke with evident pride of the fact that Franklin's academy was housed in the building originally erected to accommodate the congregations which flocked to hear his own preaching.

The earlier academy movement in this country, prior to the Revolution, belongs to the middle colonies. This was a time of experiment, in which the real character of the American institution was as yet undetermined. It was not until the colonies had set up for themselves that this type became clearly marked. The movement from that time on centred in New England, the leaders and models being the two Phillips academies, at Andover and Exeter. No clear evidence has been brought forth which would settle for us the question whence these two institutions got their name or their inspiration.¹ In the absence of such evidence, it seems as likely that the Phillips family were influenced by

¹ The designation of the Andover institution was evidently the subject of considerable discussion before it was finally decided to call it an *academy*. Judge Phillips refers vaguely, in one of the papers that he left, to "the method of the ancients." (Cf. PARK, *Earlier annals*, pp. 12-14.) He may have had some thought of the original Academy of Plato.

knowledge of the academies of Old England as that they followed the lead of the Pennsylvania institutions, and not at all improbable that both groups were known and considered by them. But the New England academies were very different from their prototypes over seas; and the experiments in the middle states may be regarded as pointing forward to this later American type.¹

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

We have a convenient issue of the *Tractate on education* in OSCAR BROWNING's edition: Cambridge University Press, 1890, pp. 43. From the same press has come an excellent edition of LOCKE's *Some thoughts concerning education*, prepared by Mr. R. H. QUICK: Cambridge, 1880, pp. 240.

The accounts of the English academies are scattered through the various histories of the dissenters. I have made use especially of those of CALAMY (*Continuation*, etc.), TOULMIN, and WALTER WILSON.

Brief sketches of the history of the academies may be found in the following:

[HAMILTON, RICHARD WINTER], Historical sketch of Airedale College, with brief notices of the northern dissenting academies. The Congregational Magazine (London), new series, VIII., pp. 581-592, October, 1831;

and in The American Quarterly Register (Andover, Mass., 1830), II., p. 255; and

The Quarterly Journal of Education (London, 1831), I., p. 49 ff.

¹ The parallel development of "academies" in Scotland and in Germany presents many interesting features. For the establishment of the Scotch academies — beginning with that of Perth, in 1760 — see GRANT, *Burgh schools of Scotland*, pt. 2, ch. 2, sec. 5, pp. 114-126. They were established in response to a call for "a more liberal and more practical course of education," and laid emphasis on the teaching of science. These Scotch academies seem to have been generally governed by boards made up largely of the subscribers who had established the several schools, but with a representation also from the town councils. *Id.*, p. 121 ff.

An account of the German Ritterakademien, institutions of a very different sort, appears in PAULSEN, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, bk. 2, sec. 1, ch. 3. These schools flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The character of the educational institutions of the dissenters at a later date is discussed with much frankness in an article entitled :

The defects of dissenting colleges. The Eclectic Review (London), new series, VIII., pp. 547-561, November, 1840;

and in other issues of the same magazine.

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contains some interesting matter. The standard life of Watts, that by GIBBONS, I have not seen.

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Also

LEE, WILLIAM. Daniel De Foe : His life and recently discovered writings. London, 1869.

The titles of Samuel Wesley's pamphlets against the educational institutions of the dissenters and of the replies by Samuel Palmer are given in a foot-note to page 10 of Lee's work. The only one of these pamphlets that I have found is the following, in the library of Columbia University :

PALMER, SAMUEL. A vindication of the learning, loyalty, morals, and most Christian behaviour of the Dissenters toward the Church of England. In answer to Mr. Wesley's Defence of his letter concerning the Dissenters education in their private academies And to Mr. Sacheverel's injurious reflections upon them. London : Printed for J. Lawrence at the Angel in the Poultry, 1705, pp. 115.

DEFOE's *Essay upon projects* and *The present state of the parties in Great Britain* were both printed anonymously, the former in 1697 and the latter in 1712. There is a copy of the first of these in the Boston Public Library, and of the other in the Library of Congress. The *Essay upon projects* is accessible in various reprints.

CHAPTER IX

EARLY AMERICAN ACADEMIES

IN view of those beginnings which have already been traced, we may say that the academy movement was an outcome of nonconformity. While largely in line with the educational tradition of the time, it involved also a considerable range of educational dissent, along with the more obvious element of religious dissent. Especially in the eighteenth century, it was largely a middle-class movement. If there was in it something of crude philistinism, there was also in it some vital appreciation of the educational significance of that great movement by which the common people were rising to power and prominence.

The great increase of sectarianism in America, where the several church establishments were less powerful than that of England, brought forward a new educational problem. How should education be promoted in a society split in every direction with religious diversity? The significant fact was that there were in that society men who appreciated the need and value of education. There was a growing number of good citizens who, however much they might differ as to religion, agreed in their love of learning. Such men gradually found it possible to work together on the boards of trustees of the new institutions. Much concession and adjustment was necessary; but the co-operative scheme won its way as it was found to be workable. The history of the Philadelphia academy will give some idea of the general course of this movement.

As early as 1743, Benjamin Franklin had sketched a plan for the establishment of an academy. But the times were

not propitious, and he was a man who could wait. Six years later the outlook was more favorable, and after consultation with some of his friends he published his *Proposals relating to the education of youth in Pennsylvania*. "The good education of youth," it read, "has been esteemed by wise men in all ages, as the surest foundation of the happiness both of private families and of commonwealths." The decline of learning in the colonies was deplored. Many of the fathers had been well educated in Europe; but "the present race are not thought to be generally of equal ability; for, though the American youth are allowed not to want capacity, yet the best capacities require cultivation." It was accordingly proposed that some gentlemen of leisure and public spirit should secure a charter authorizing them to erect an academy. These trustees should take a personal interest in the school, and should undertake in practical ways to promote the welfare of its students when they should go forth to the duties of active life.

It was further proposed that a building should be provided in a healthful situation, with garden, orchard, meadow, and field; and furnished with a library, philosophical apparatus, and other appliances. There should be a rector and the necessary number of tutors under him. Provision should be made for boarders. Sports were recommended for the physical good of the students: running, leaping, wrestling, and swimming.

"As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short. It is therefore proposed, that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental; regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended."

All were to be taught penmanship, drawing (with perspective), arithmetic (with accounts, and the first principles of geometry and astronomy), and the English language (grammar, oral reading, and composition). The greatest stress was laid upon studies in English. Authors of the

late seventeenth and the early eighteenth century were recommended for study; but readings in history were still more strongly emphasized and were made to constitute the vital centre of the whole plan of instruction. "If history be made a constant part of their reading, . . . may not almost all kinds of useful knowledge be that way introduced to advantage?" Geography, chronology, ancient customs, oratory, civil government, logic, languages, and even morality and religion, were to find their first entrance into the attention and interest of the students through the channel of history.

But, the proposals continued, there should be also readings in natural history, both because of the utility of its several divisions and for the sake of the improvement of conversation. This study should be accompanied by practical exercises in agriculture and horticulture. Commerce, industry, and mechanics would be entertaining and useful studies for all.

With all this the academy should cultivate "that benignity of mind, which . . . is the foundation of what is called good breeding," and should impress on the minds of the youth the idea of what constitutes true merit, which is "an inclination, joined with an ability, to serve mankind, one's country, friends, and family." True learning gives or increases the ability to perform such service.

Franklin would gladly have made this academy an English school pure and simple. But he yielded to men of wealth and learning whose co-operation was needed, and included both ancient and modern languages. As a pupil in the Boston Latin School, he had himself made only a beginning in the study of Latin. In the severe course of self-education which he had carried out during his early manhood, he had included a study of some of the modern languages. These he valued very highly because of practical advantages which they conferred. He even returned to the study of Latin, with some increased appreciation of its usefulness; but near the close of his life he referred to the

teaching of Latin and Greek in the schools as the "*chapeau bras* of modern literature." He proposed that in the academy the study of languages should be optional. But students of divinity should be taught Latin and Greek; students of medicine should add French; students of law should take Latin and French; and future merchants, the modern languages, French, German, and Spanish.

The *Proposals* were distributed among the public-spirited citizens of Philadelphia, and met with general favor. A subscription was soon set on foot with a view to carrying them into effect. This was very successful. The individual contributions, subscribed for a period of five years, soon amounted to the goodly sum of £800 a year. Then aid was solicited from the city government, and the response was a donation of £200 from the public treasury, with the added promise of £100 a year for five years. The subscribers chose twenty-four prominent citizens from their number to act as trustees of the funds thus secured. This board of trustees adopted a set of *Constitutions of the Publick Academy In the City of Philadelphia*, hired a house, engaged masters, and opened the school.¹

The school was popular from the start, and the house was soon too small to hold it. It happened that the building erected in 1740 for the double purpose of providing a preaching place for Whitefield and other itinerants and housing a charity school, was now available. It is doubtful whether the proposed charity school had ever been opened. The property was encumbered by debt. Fortunately Franklin was one of the trustees of this hall and also a trustee of the new academy. He brought about an agreement between the two boards, by which the academy acquired the building under promise that a charity school should be conducted on the premises.

The Whitefield building was accordingly opened as the home of the academy in January, 1751. This was made a

¹ All in the year 1749, if Franklin's account, written years after, from memory, is correct.

formal occasion, and a sermon was preached by the Rev. Richard Peters. In due time a charity school, of lower grade than the academy, was opened in accordance with the terms of the transfer. Then a charter was secured from the proprietaries of the province, in 1753, incorporating The Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School in the Province of Pennsylvania. This body was made self-perpetuating. Its members must always be residents of Pennsylvania, within five miles of the seat of the academy. The trustees were authorized "to erect . . . and support an academy or any other kind of seminary of learning in any place within the said province of Pennsylvania, where they shall judge the same to be most necessary and convenient for the instruction, improvement, and education of youth in any kind of literature, erudition, arts, and sciences, which they shall think fitting and proper to be taught." This was a remarkably broad provision.

The academy was organized in three schools, the Latin, the English, and the mathematical, each having a separate master. The first rector, Mr. David Martin, died before he had been with the school a full year. Then the Rev. Francis Alison, who had conducted the Presbyterian "academy" at New London, was made master of the Latin school; and seems later to have become rector of the academy. Mr. David James Dove was the English master. He devoted a part of each day to a private school for girls. In the academy, he had about ninety pupils; but some difference having arisen between him and the trustees he withdrew after somewhat more than two years of service, and thereafter conducted a private school for boys besides continuing his girls' school. His salary in the academy was £150 a year.

The Latin master received £200 a year. It was originally intended that such instruction as the Latin scholars might receive in history, logic, English, etc., should be given by the Latin master; and the Latin master was expected to assist the English master as he might find opportunity.

No assistant teacher or usher was to be provided in the Latin School for less than twenty boys, nor in the English school for less than forty boys. In the earlier days, the attendance in the Latin School seems to have been about sixty. Mr. Dove's ninety in the English School was reduced to about forty after his withdrawal. The tuition fee in each of these schools was £4 a year. Mr. Theophilus Grew was the "mathematical professor," at a salary of £125. As early as 1751 there were three "assistant tutors" employed in the academy, at a salary of £60 each.¹

The Rev. William Smith, a graduate of the University of Aberdeen, and a clergyman of the Church of England, having come to America, became deeply interested in the movement for the establishment of King's College, and took occasion to publish his ideas upon the higher education in a work entitled *A general idea of the College of Mirania*. This came to the notice of Franklin, who entered into correspondence with Mr. Smith with reference to the affairs of the academy. The result was that in 1754 Mr. Smith was appointed to the teaching force of the institution. A fourth school was then added, the philosophical. Mr. Smith (later Doctor of Divinity) was placed at the head of this school, in which he taught logic, rhetoric, and natural and moral philosophy, to the more advanced students.

Then followed the reincorporation of the institution as the College, Academy, and Charitable School of Philadelphia. The new charter simply confirmed and extended the provisions of the earlier one, the chief addition being the power to confer academic degrees. Dr. Smith was made provost of the institution, and he continued at its head until 1779. Dr. Alison was made vice-provost. After the reorganization in 1755, the Latin and Philosophical schools were spoken of as the college, and the other two constituted the academy.

It appears at once that the early history of this institution was very different from that of any other American school.

¹ Much interesting information concerning the early masters is found in MONTGOMERY, *History of the University of Pennsylvania*, pp. 141-204.

But some of its characteristics were typical, and may be regarded as symptoms of the general change which was coming over our educational thought.

The ends which the academy was intended to serve were set forth by the trustees in their petition for aid from the city treasury. They were four in number:

"1. That the Youth of Pensilvania may have an opportunity of receiving a good Education at home, and be under no necessity of going abroad for it; Whereby not only considerable Expense may be saved to the Country, but a stricter Eye may be had over their morals by their Friends and Relations.

"2. That a number of our Natives will be hereby qualified to bear Magistracies, and execute other public offices of Trust, with Reputation to themselves & Country; There being at present great Want of Persons so qualified in the several Counties of this Province. And this is the more necessary now to be provided for by the English here, as vast Numbers of Foreigners are yearly imported among us, totally ignorant of our Laws, Customs and Language.

"3. That a number of the poorer Sort will be hereby qualified to act as Schoolmasters in the Country, to teach Children Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Grammar of their Mother Tongue, and being of good morals and known character, may be recommended from the Academy to Country Schools for that purpose; The Country suffering at present very much for want of good Schoolmasters, and obliged frequently to employ in their Schools, vicious imported Servants, or concealed Papists, who by their bad Examples and Instructions often deprave the Morals or corrupt the Principles of the Children under their Care.

"4. It is thought that a good Academy erected in Philadelphia, a healthy place where Provisions are plenty, situated in the Center of the Colonies, may draw a number of Students from the neighboring Provinces, who must spend Considerable Sums yearly among us, in Payment for their Lodging, Diet, Apparel, &c., which will be an Advantage to our Traders, Artisans, and Owners of Houses and Lands. . . ."

These arguments call for a few words of comment. The need of home schools to enable native-born Americans to

compete with foreigners in public and commercial employments, was much in the minds of thinking men among the colonists. We have seen that the consideration of this need entered largely into the discussions which arose about the county school system of Maryland. It became a subject of dispute in Virginia also. With the growth of business concerns in American cities, it became necessary to send to Europe for young men who had received a training not easily got in this country.¹ This state of things plainly demanded some sort of remedial action on the part of the colonists.

The need of education because of the increase of foreign immigration became much more serious as time went on. We shall see that the service of the academies in providing the country with better teachers commanded much attention when the academy movement got well under way. And this is not the only instance in which we find that those of "the poorer sort" were thought of for future schoolmasters. The fear of secret Roman Catholic influence which is referred to, was deep-seated in the minds of Englishmen everywhere, and was, of course, based on political as well as religious considerations.

It may well be supposed that the religious bearings of education would be taken less seriously by such a man as Franklin than the thrifty forethought expressed in the fourth argument. This argument was reinforced by European precedents, and it was doubtless as influential as any in securing the desired subsidy from the town council. The realism of the paragraph gets its finishing touch in that delicate allusion to school-boy appetite. How well the academy fulfilled the expecta-

¹ MR. WEEDEN tells of a request sent by Peter Faneuil, in 1736, to his London correspondents, that they would send him from "Christ Hospital a Cleaver Sober young youth that has had the Small Pox w^{ch} is fitting to be bro^t up in my Counting House, one that wrights and siphers well." *Economic and social history*, II., p. 618. See also his account of Thomas Amory, son of a South Carolina merchant, who was educated under the great Master Busby at Westminster School, near the end of the seventeenth century. *Id.*, p. 566.

tion of commercial advantage to the city appears from a communication by "Philo-Marylandicus" in the *Maryland Gazette*, in 1754. The writer was urging the establishment of a college in Maryland; and in support of that project he presented an estimate of the amount of good money drawn from Maryland to Philadelphia by the academy in that city. At least one hundred Marylanders, he declared, were attending the academy, and these might be expected to spend fifty pounds sterling a year each in Philadelphia, making a total of five thousand pounds!¹

The religious difficulty had been met by making representatives of different denominations members of the first board of trustees. This probably indicated a purpose on the part of the promoters to be fair to all Protestant sects and to be bound to none. Their attitude is a sign that the transfer of emphasis in education from religion to morals was already begun. Franklin would surely favor such a change of front, in so far as it might be found politic; for his religious creed was short and simple, and he had made systematic endeavors to attain to moral perfection.

A great subscription was raised in England for the college and academy in 1762-64. This was made the occasion of a joint letter to the trustees by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the proprietaries of the province, and an eminent dissenter, recommending in substance that the distribution of trusteeships among the several denominations be made permanent. The trustees accordingly made a formal declaration that neither "the members of the Church of England or those dissenting from them [should] (*in any future Election . . .*) be put on *any worse Footing* in this Seminary than they are [at the time referred to]." In the course of the troubles which befell the institution during the Revolutionary War, it was charged that this declaration was in effect a narrowing of the original intent of the foundation.

Franklin had to make many concessions to get the acad-

¹ Quoted by STEINER, *History of education in Maryland*, p. 29.

emy launched in the first instance, and it finally swung so far away from his original purpose that he found himself much out of sympathy with its management. He was especially disappointed in the English school, which had been the centre of his interest in the undertaking.

New schools devoted to new ideas tend generally to become assimilated with the educational traditions about them. This was the case with the academies, and the academy at Philadelphia presents a striking example. The classical tradition was strong when this school was founded — a tradition backed up by all the artificial classicism of Augustan England, and of the European mode established by the France of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. Orators decorated their speeches with Latin quotations. Contributors to the newspapers signed themselves *Cato* or *Justitia* or *Philo*-something-or-other. These things had degenerated into a mere shibboleth of an educated class. The new life that was to be put into classical studies by the New Humanism of Germany was not yet felt.

The growth of nationalism and of national literatures had hardly begun to affect the schools. It took the romantic movement and the American and French revolutions to give the mother tongue an assured position in programmes of instruction. This was true of other countries as well as of England and her colonies. So the English school in the academy at Philadelphia was in advance of the times. It is important, however, in that it looked to the future.

Before the academy was fairly started, Franklin had prepared a *Sketch of an English school*. This was a proposed course of studies in English for a school of six classes. Its recommendations run about as follows: Pupils should have learned to read and write before entering this school. In the lowest class, they are to study the rules of English grammar, orthography, and short pieces, such as Croxall's Fables and little stories. Attention is to be given to the meaning of words and to oral reading. In the second class, the pupils will read short pieces like those of the *Spectator*,

with some grammatical study and an account of the meanings of words, of sentences, and of the piece as a whole. Other lessons may be devoted to selections from plays and speeches, letters, Hudibrastic and heroic verse, etc. Such lessons should be chosen as contain useful instruction. When the meaning has been mastered, attention should be devoted to oral reading. Each boy should have a dictionary.

In the third class, especial attention should be given to rhetoric and the practice of speaking. The reading of history is to begin with Rollin's ancient history, and the reading of natural and mechanic history, with the *Spectacle de la Nature*. Composition is to be the special concern of the fourth class. The letters of Pope and Sir William Temple are recommended as models. Dr. Johnson's¹ *Ethica elementa, or first principles of morality*, is to be read in this class. The fifth class is to write little essays in prose and verse, and read Dr. Johnson's *Noetica, or first principles of human knowledge*. The sixth, besides continuing studies already begun, is to read the best English authors, as Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Addison, Pope, Swift, the higher papers in the *Spectator* and *Guardian*, the best translations of Homer, Virgil, and Horace, of Telemachus, Travels of Cyrus, etc.

The school hours should be so arranged that some classes might be with the writing master, improving their hands, and some with the mathematical master, studying arithmetic, accounts, geography, use of the globes, drawing, mechanics, etc., while the rest are under the English master's instruction.

Some forty years after the publication of this sketch, near the close of his long life, Franklin addressed to the trustees of the college and academy a protest against their treatment of the English school. He reviewed the history of the institution, showing that the English school had suffered

¹ This was Samuel Johnson, the American, afterward president of King's College.

from systematic discrimination in favor of the classical studies, until the English master had been reduced to the position of a mere assistant to the Latin master, whose pupils he instructed in the English branches, or of a teacher of little boys in the elements commonly taught in a dame school. He declared that "the Latinists were combined to decry the English school as useless. It was without example, they said, as indeed they still say, that a school for teaching the vulgar tongue, and the sciences in that tongue was ever joined with a college, and the Latin masters were fully competent to teach the English." He proposed, finally, that since the interests of the English school were not properly guarded under the arrangement then existing, that school should be set apart as a separate institution and given its share of the common funds. It does not appear that action was taken along the line of this suggestion.¹

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century, there were other schools in the middle colonies and farther south which were commonly called *academies*. But no such institution has thus far come to light, beside the one at Philadelphia, that was regularly incorporated under this designation previous to the breaking out of the Revolution. The private establishments which came into existence about this time and were known as academies, contributed much to our later colonial education, and some of them after a time grew into real American academies. A few of these have been mentioned in the chapter on Later Colonial Schools.

There was a strongly marked individuality in the Moravian foundation of Nazareth Hall, in Pennsylvania. It stood upon a great tract of land purchased in 1740 by George Whitefield, and later conveyed by him to the Moravian Brethren. This domain became nominally the property of the Countess Zinzendorf. It was the only manor granted by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania which was vested with the right of court baron; and the feudal character of the tenure of the estate is shown by the fact that

¹ The text of the more important documents relating to this school is given in THORPE, *Benjamin Franklin and the University of Pennsylvania*.

it was held on condition of rendering service to the proprietaries by delivering to them, in June of each year, if demanded, a single red rose.

The building known as Nazareth Hall was erected in 1755-56 as a manor house, with a view especially to accommodating Count Zinzendorf and his retinue when that noble bishop should revisit this country. Zinzendorf died before he could return to America; but the Hall was serviceable in many ways to the manor, and to the Moravian church. A synod convened there in 1757, presided over by Bishop Spangenberg, the members of which were escorted back and forth by armed men, for fear of an attack by the hostile Indians. Then, in 1759, it was first opened as a boarding school for Moravian youth.

At that time the Moravians were living under a peculiar, half-communistic system. The boys sent to this school were educated at the expense of the communion for which it was established. This system came to an end in 1764, and the school gradually dwindled, until it was closed in 1779.

When peace had been restored, after the Revolution, steps were taken to have the Hall reopened as a school for boys, under Moravian auspices, but admitting others on equal terms. It was announced as the "Paedagogium, or Boarding School, about to be established by the United Brethren at Nazareth." The general direction of the institution was lodged in the officers of the church in Pennsylvania. No boy might be admitted under the age of seven nor above the age of twelve. Instruction was offered in the elementary branches, and in the English, German, Latin, French, and Greek languages, history, geography, mathematics, music, and drawing. Particular attention to the health and morals of the scholars was promised, with specific reference to "proper exercises, cleanliness, and gentleness of deportment."

The institution became widely known for the excellence of its instruction and discipline. Pupils came from neighboring states, from Europe, and in considerable numbers

from the West Indies. John Konkaput, a Stockbridge Indian, was educated here at government expense. Two hundred and ninety-five boys were entered in the first twenty-five years of the school's existence, eighty-three of whom were Moravians. German was the ordinary language of the institution at the start; but English soon took the first place, while German still received much attention. In the earlier years, the boys were required to use English and German, each three days in the week, for all ordinary conversation.¹

The county schools of Maryland had generally sunk into a very sorry condition before the end of the colonial period. But a new educational spirit was coming into the life of that colony, which manifested itself in the establishment of schools of the newer type. The term *academy* first appears in the statutes of Maryland in the year 1778. Lower Marlboro Academy had been erected and supported for a time at private expense. In 1778, the legislature authorized the sale of the property of the free school of Calvert County for the benefit of this institution, and vested its board of trustees with corporate powers.² Washington Academy, in Somerset County, was also begun as a private enterprise of "several gentlemen of different religious persuasion," who intended it simply for the benefit of their own children. This was in 1767. Other children were admitted from time to time. The school grew in public favor. The teaching force was increased. And finally, in 1779, a regular charter of incorporation was secured.³

The founding of the two Phillips academies, at Andover, Massachusetts, and Exeter, New Hampshire, marks a second beginning of the academy movement. For these two schools furnished the model and inspiration of many

¹ REICHEI, *Nazareth Hall*, passim.

² *Laws of Maryland*, Kilty's revision, October, 1778, ch. 16.

³ *Id.*, November, 1779, ch. 15. An account of the origin and progress of this school was published by the trustees in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser* of November 23, 1784. It is reprinted in STEINER, *History of education in Maryland*, p. 39, foot-note.

later institutions established in the northern states, both east and west.

Samuel Phillips took the first steps in this enterprise. He was the descendant of a goodly line of Harvard graduates. His father, also named Samuel, had been for a time master of a grammar school at Andover, and later attained to prominence in business and in politics. The younger Samuel prepared for college under Master Moody in the new Dummer School at Byfield, and was graduated at Harvard in 1771. His name at first stood eighth in the list of his class, which numbered sixty-three. But his father represented to the faculty that he was entitled to the seventh place, and he was accordingly advanced. It is said that this case was the immediate occasion of the change at Harvard by which the placing of students according to the rank of their fathers was discontinued.

When his college course was finished, the young man soon made a place for himself. He was a member of the provincial congress. He undertook the manufacture of gunpowder for Washington's army, and came into close relations with the Commander. He was in the convention that framed the first state constitution of Massachusetts. He became judge and state senator, and at the time of his death was lieutenant-governor of the commonwealth.

From such accounts as have come down to us we are led to think of him as preternaturally grave, industrious, and methodical. But he took a quiet pleasure in the mirth of others, and was a lover of children. He was deeply religious, and feared the laxness of doctrine which he saw creeping into the churches. He was known at the same time as "an enthusiast for virtue." His religion was intensely ethical.

He was a devoted student of the writings of those eminent nonconformists whose names are associated with the early English academies. He provided for the gratuitous circulation of some of the works of Philip Doddridge and Matthew Henry and Isaac Watts. Doddridge's *Sermons on the religious education of children*, was among the books which he espe-

cially recommended. Josiah Quincy said of him that he seemed to have all of the poetry of Watts by heart.

"With all his conservatism he was an innovator. His fertile mind was intent upon improvements; upon discussing principles and devising schemes, which would break in salutarily upon the old order of things. Sometimes his best friends, and especially his father and uncles, who were yet sure to second his projects, would hint that he had a little too much of the spirit of what we, in our day, term 'young America.'" ¹ This mixture of conservatism and progress is fairly representative of the academy movement, with which his name is so intimately connected.

Several members of the Phillips family were associated with Judge Samuel Phillips in the establishment of the academy at Andover, notably his father and his father's two brothers, John Phillips of Exeter and William Phillips of Boston. John Phillips, on his own account, became the founder of the academy at Exeter. He had preached in his young manhood, soon after graduating from Harvard College. But becoming deeply impressed with the discourses of Whitefield, to which he had listened, he declared himself unqualified for the ministry, and gave it up. For a time he was teacher of a classical school. He was prominent in business, became colonel of militia and justice of one of the New Hampshire courts, and was a liberal benefactor of Princeton and Dartmouth Colleges.

Josiah Quincy, writing in 1855, said of him :

"I visited him at Exeter in his family . . . I spent three or four days there, and partook of his simple meals. I heard him at his family devotions. I shall never forget the patriarchal sweetness of his countenance, or the somewhat stern, yet not unattractive manner, in which he greeted and responded. He had an austere faith, softened by natural temperament and inherent kindness of spirit." ²

¹ TAYLOR, *Memoir of Judge Phillips*, p. 295.

² The Phillips family is connected with much that is of the best in New England. It has shown a remarkable tendency to rise to some new greatness

It was in the midst of the Revolutionary War that these academies were established. Samuel Phillips, the father, and Dr. John,¹ his brother, became the founders of the Andover school by executing a deed of gift for its endowment, on the twenty-first of April, 1778. A "constitution" for the proposed institution was embodied in the deed.

According to this document, the donors proposed "to lay the foundation of a public free SCHOOL or ACADEMY for the purpose of instructing Youth, not only in English and Latin Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, and those Sciences wherein they are commonly taught; but more especially to learn them the GREAT END AND REAL BUSINESS OF LIVING." Further on, "it is again declared, that the *first* and *principal* object of this Institution is the promotion of true PIETY and VIRTUE; the *second*, instruction in the English, Latin, and Greek Languages, together with Writing, Arithmetic, Music, and the Art of Speaking; the *third*, practical Geometry, Logic, and Geography; and the *fourth*, such other of the liberal Arts and Sciences or Languages, as opportunity and ability may hereafter admit, and as the TRUSTEES shall direct."

Only Protestants may be trustees or instructors in this school. Its advantages are thrown open equally to youth "from every quarter;" but they must first be able to read English well. The trustees, however, have power to provide for a limited number of beginners. The principal instructor in the school must be "a professor of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, of exemplary manners, of good natural abilities and literary acquirements, of a good acquaintance with human nature, of a natural aptitude for instruction and government." Much stress is laid on the making of a suitable

in successive generations. The Josiah Quincy referred to above, sometime president of Harvard College, was connected with the family through his mother. Wendell Phillips, the anti-slavery orator, was descended from a cousin of the founders of the academy at Andover. And Phillips Brooks was a great-grandson of Judge Phillips.

¹ Harvard College conferred on him the degree of LL.D. Or was it Dartmouth? The accounts at hand do not agree.

appointment to this office. No other consideration than that of qualifications is to enter into the selection.

In addition to the ordinary duties of a master toward his pupils, the principal instructor is charged, "critically and constantly" to "observe the variety of their natural tempers and solicitously endeavor to bring them under such discipline as may tend most effectually to promote their own satisfaction and the happiness of others." He is "to encourage the Scholars to perform some manual labor, such as gardening, or the like; so far as it is consistent with cleanliness and the inclination of their parents" It is expected that many of the students will become ministers; and the master is particularly directed to give instruction in the cardinal doctrines of religion as set forth in the Scriptures. That everything may be open and above-board in the management of its financial affairs, there is a provision that a full record of donations to the institution and of all expenditures shall be kept open for all men to read.¹

The school was opened in due form on the thirtieth of April, 1778. The Rev. Jonathan French, one of the trustees, preached a sermon on that occasion. Mr. Eliphalet Pearson, the teacher of the town grammar school, was the first preceptor, and continued in that office for the term of eight years. He had been a fellow pupil with Judge Phillips, at the Dummer School, and was also a graduate of Harvard College. When he withdrew from the preceptorship of the academy, it was to become a professor in the college.

October 4, 1780, the school was incorporated under the title of *Phillips Academy*, becoming the first chartered academy in New England. The act of incorporation reiterated and confirmed the chief provisions of the constitution. The school was placed under the control of a board of twelve trustees (the number might be increased to thirteen but must not be less than seven), who, with their successors, were declared to be "the true and sole Visitors, Trustees,

¹ The quotations are from the pamphlet edition of this *Constitution*, issued in 1828.

and Governors" of the institution. The "principal Instructor" must always be a member of this board; a majority of the members must be laymen and respectable freeholders; and a majority also must be men who were not inhabitants of the town in which the school might be situated. Under these limitations, vacancies in the board were to be filled by vote of the remaining members. By vote of two-thirds of the trustees, the school might be removed to any other more suitable location in the state of Massachusetts.

Such was the simple and sufficient form of administration settled by law. The school was prosperous from the start. No ill luck followed upon its opening with exactly thirteen pupils in attendance; and the number was speedily increased.¹ After the first term, provision was made for an assistant teacher.

The donations of four members of the Phillips family to this institution amounted to about eighty-five thousand dollars, a very considerable sum for that period. The several sources of this fund have been given as follows:

From the Hon. Samuel Phillips, of North Andover	\$6,000
From the Hon. John Phillips, LL.D., of Exeter	31,000
From the Hon. William Phillips, of Boston	6,000
From His Honor, William Phillips, of Boston (to the Academy)	28,000
From the same (to the Theological Seminary, established later in connection with the Academy)	14,000 ²

¹ The biographer of Judge Phillips has a whimsical note on the *annus mirabilis* in which the academy charter was granted. The legislative act of incorporation was the last act passed under the old government of Massachusetts. The next act was passed under the new state constitution, which Judge Phillips had helped to frame. The winter that preceded was the famous "hard winter;" the "dark day" had occurred in the spring; and the Boston newspapers told of Arnold's treason the day after the charter was granted to the academy! TAYLOR, *Memoir of Samuel Phillips*, pp. 215-217.

² *Id.*, p. 260, foot-note.

The founders expressed in their *Constitution* the hope that their school might lead to the establishment of others on the same principles; and John Phillips proceeded without delay to insure the realization of this hope. The Phillips Exeter Academy, which he endowed in his home town, was incorporated by the legislature of New Hampshire by act of April 3, 1781. The charter follows so closely the wording of that of the Andover school that it calls for no special remark, except that the number of trustees provided in this case was seven instead of thirteen. A "constitution" was drawn up by the founder, expressed for the most part in the same terms as the similar document for Phillips Andover.

The original endowment consisted of wild lands and interest-bearing notes, the total value of which was estimated before the death of the founder at £8,000. A later estimate, which includes the value of Dr. Phillips' bequests to the academy, shows that the institution received from its founder, all told, an amount not far from sixty-five thousand dollars.¹

The school was opened early in 1783, and on the first of May of that year there was a formal dedication of the building erected for its use. The first principal, William Woodbridge, resigned on account of ill health, after five years of service. Then came Benjamin Abbot, who ruled over the institution with great power and wisdom for the term of fifty years. Little Daniel Webster came to him for schooling in 1796. Edward Everett finished his preparation for college here, at the age of thirteen. Lewis Cass came to the school at the age of ten, a headstrong boy, fond of pranks and of out-door life; and here he remained for five years and made a very good record. The standard of scholarship was low at the start. There were only two studying Latin when Benjamin Abbot appeared on the scene. But under his management the academy was speedily advanced to the foremost rank of American schools.

¹ CUNNINGHAM, *Familiar sketches*, pp. 69-72.

There followed in quick succession a notable line of such foundations: Leicester and Derby and Groton Academies in Massachusetts, Clinton Academy and Erasmus Hall on Long Island, Morris Academy at Morristown, New Jersey, the Bingham School at Pittsboro, North Carolina, and many others that gained a goodly fame.

In WINTERBOTHAM'S *View of the American United States*, we have a general account of education in the several states during Washington's second presidential term. So much of this view as relates to secondary education may be summarized as follows:

New Hampshire. — The old laws required every town of one hundred families to keep a grammar school. This law fell somewhat into neglect before the war, and still more in later years. The unhappy state of science and of virtue during this period excited philanthropic persons to devise other methods of education. The result was the founding of academies. The Phillips Academy at Exeter is particularly described, and those at New Ipswich, Atkinson, Amherst, Charlestown, and Concord are mentioned briefly.

Massachusetts. — The laws relating to elementary schools and grammar schools in towns are mentioned, and the remark follows:

"These laws respecting schools are not so well regarded in many parts of the state as the wise purposes which they were intended to answer, and the happiness of the people require." Of Boston it is said: "There are seven public schools, supported wholly at the expense of the town, and in which the children of *every* class of citizens freely associate. . . . Perhaps there is not a town in the world, the youth of which more fully enjoy the benefits of school education, than at Boston."¹ The writer continues: "Next in

¹ We find in this account of the schools of Boston an instance of the early use of the expression "grammar schools" in a sense somewhat like that which now commonly attaches to the expression in this country. The seven schools of Boston are enumerated as "the Latin grammar school;" "the three English grammar schools," in which "the children of *both* sexes, from seven to

importance to the grammar schools are the academies, in which, as well as in the grammar schools, young gentlemen are fitted for admission to the university." Mention is made of the Dummer, Phillips, Leicester, Williamstown, and Taunton academies, and the Derby School at Hingham.

Maine. — Four academies are mentioned, those of Hallowell, Berwick, Fryeburg, and Machias, which "have been incorporated by the legislature, and endowed with handsome grants of the public lands."

Rhode Island. — The ignorance of "the bulk of the inhabitants" is remarked. An exception is made in favor of Providence and Newport. "At Newport there is a flourishing academy, under the direction of a rector and tutors, who teach the learned languages, English grammar, geography, &c."

Connecticut. — "In no part of the world is the education of all ranks of people more attended to than in Connecticut." The provision for county grammar schools is noted. Mention is made of the Hopkins grammar schools at Hartford and New Haven. "Academies have been established at Greenfield, Plainfield, Norwich, Wyndham, and Pomfret, some of which are flourishing."

New York. — "There are eight incorporated academies in different parts of the State; but parts of the country are yet either unfurnished with schools, or the schools which they have are kept by low, ignorant men, which are worse than none. . . . We are happy to add that the legislature have lately patronized collegiate and academic education, by granting a large gratuity to the colleges and academies in this State, which, in addition to their former funds, renders their endowments handsome, and adequate to their expenditures."

fourteen years of age, are instructed in spelling, accenting and reading the English language, both prose and verse, with propriety, also in English grammar and composition, together with the rudiments of geography;" and "the other three schools," in which "the same children are taught writing and arithmetic." This nomenclature was probably taken from the new rules for the schools of Boston, drawn up in 1789.

New Jersey. — Of Nassau Hall (Princeton) it is said: "There is a grammar school of about twenty scholars, connected with the college, under the superintendence of the president, and taught sometimes by a senior scholar, and sometimes by a graduate;" and of Queen's College (now Rutgers): "The grammar school, which is connected with the college, consists of between thirty and forty students, under the care of the trustees." The academies of the state are commended, and seven of them receive individual mention: viz., those of Freehold, Trenton, Hackensack, Orangedale, Elizabethtown, Burlington, and Newark. "Besides these, there are grammar schools at Springfield, Morristown, Bordentown, Amboy, &c."

Pennsylvania. — The academy at Philadelphia is mentioned. "The Episcopalians have an academy at York town, in York county. There are also academies at German town, at Pittsburgh, at Washington, at Allen's town, and other places; these are endowed by donations from the legislature, and by liberal contributions of individuals." "The schools for young men and young women in Bethlehem and Nazareth, under the direction of the people called Moravians, are upon the best establishment of any schools in America."

Maryland. — Washington Academy is mentioned, and the fact that "provision is made for free schools in most of the counties; though some are entirely neglected, and very few carried on with any success. . . . But the revolution, among other happy effects, has roused the spirit of education, which is fast spreading its salutary influences over this and the other southern States."

Virginia. — "There are several academies in Virginia; one at Alexandria, one at Norfolk, and others in other places." The great scheme of public education for Virginia which had been proposed — under Jefferson's leadership — is summarized, and its provisions are cordially approved.

North Carolina. — "There is a good academy at Warren-

ton, another at Williamsborough in Granville, and three or four others in the State, of considerable note."

South Carolina. — "Gentlemen of fortune, before the late war, sent their sons to Europe for education. During the late war and since, they have generally sent them to the middle and northern states. Those who have been at this expense in educating their sons, have been but comparatively few in number, so that the literature of the State is at a low ebb. Since the peace, however, it has begun to flourish. There are several respectable academies at Charleston; one at Beaufort on Port Royal island; and several others in different parts of the State. . . . Part of the old barracks at Charleston has been handsomely fitted up, and converted into a college, and there are a number of students; but it does not yet merit a more dignified name than that of a respectable academy. . . . The college at Cambridge is no more than a grammar school."

Georgia. — The act for the establishment of "The University of Georgia," with its provision for an academy in each county, receives extended notice.¹

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The histories of the University of Pennsylvania, by WOOD, THORPE, and MONTGOMERY, and the *Works* of FRANKLIN, edited by JOHN BIGELOW, especially volume I., containing the *Autobiography*, are rich in material relating to the early history of the Academy at Philadelphia.

For the two Phillips academies we have much scattered information and two or three volumes of importance. TAYLOR's *Memoir of Samuel*

¹ *Op. cit.*, II. and III., passim. In this and the following chapters, no attempt is made to limit closely the use of the term *academy*. While we may speak of an "academy type," in recognition of certain dominant tendencies in the schools of this period, it will be remembered that this type is rather loosely defined and has admitted of much variation. In the narrower sense an academy, in this country, is an incorporated, undenominational school of secondary grade, under the control of a self-perpetuating board of trustees, and not conducted for pecuniary profit. But institutions bearing this designation may differ from one another in any of these particulars.

Phillips, PARK's *Annals*, and the works on the Phillips Exeter Academy by BELL and CUNNINGHAM have been chiefly consulted.

W. WINTERBOTHAM's work is in four volumes, and is entitled *An historical, geographical, commercial, and philosophical view of the American United States, and of the European settlements in America and the West Indies*. London: Printed for the Editor, 1795. Extended excerpts are given in BARNARD's *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXIV., pp. 137-157.

CHAPTER X

EARLY STATE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

✓ We have come to the time when French thought is to exercise an appreciable influence on American education. The philosophical and revolutionary literature of France in the eighteenth century was full of educational theories, and the tendency of these theories was strongly secular. Along with the doctrine that education should return to nature appeared the doctrine that the direction of education should return to the state.

We find Helvetius pushing the claims of education to the last extreme, making it all-powerful in the determination of human character. He deplored the fact that instruction was pulled this way and that by the opposing demands of church and state, and would put an end to this difficulty by simply having the state absorb the church. We find La Chalotais taking a leading part in the campaign for the expulsion of the Jesuits, and putting forth his idea of educational organization in the *Essai d'éducation nationale*. We find Voltaire describing education as a "government undertaking." We find Turgot declaring that, "the study of the duty of citizenship ought to be the foundation of all the other studies."

"I do not presume to exclude ecclesiastics," said La Chalotais, "but I protest against the exclusion of laymen. I dare claim for the nation an education which depends only on the state, because it belongs essentially to the state; because every state has an inalienable and indefeasible right to instruct its members; because, finally, the children of

the state ought to be educated by the members of the state.”¹

Into the midst of this discussion came Rousseau with the enlivening abstractions and impossibilities of the *Émile*. Numerous other educational essays and treatises were put forth. But of especial significance for its suggestions relative to the making of systems of instruction, was the *Plan of a university* drawn up by Diderot, for Catherine of Russia, about the time of the American Revolution.

“A university,” wrote Diderot, “is a school which is open without discrimination to all the children of a nation, where masters paid by the state initiate them into the elementary knowledge of all sciences.” He compared the course of instruction to “a great avenue, at the entrance of which appears a crowd of people who cry out continually, ‘Instruction, instruction! We know nothing unless we be taught.’” Some can go farther on this avenue than others. The studies should be arranged accordingly. Such as are most generally useful should come first: the essential or primitive knowledges, which all should have. Such studies as are next in usefulness—those needed by the greatest number less than the whole people—should follow; and so on to the end.

Reading, writing, and the first principles of arithmetic should be mastered before the pupil enters this public school. Having entered, he first comes under the instruction of the faculty of arts. Here he is offered a course of study, divided into eight classes, comprising the mathematical and natural sciences, logic, the languages, and rhetoric. Parallel with this are two other courses, which all will take: one in metaphysics, morals, religion, history, geography, and economics; the other in drawing and the principles of architecture. There is a suggestion, too remote for serious consideration in the eighteenth century, of a

¹ Cf. COMPAYRÉ, *History of pedagogy*, ch. 14-16; and SHERWOOD, *The University of the State of New York* (Circ. Inf. no. 3, 1900), pt. 1, ch. 3.

course of "exercises," — music, dancing, horsemanship, and swimming. A prophecy is added, that the day will come when schools of agriculture and commerce will be established, whether within or without the university, not only in the cities but in the remoter country districts of the realm.

After the faculty of arts come the other traditional faculties of medicine, jurisprudence, and theology. It is evident from his earlier *Essai sur les études en Russie*, that Diderot was influenced to some extent, in the making of this scheme, by his knowledge of the universities and gymnasiums of Germany. But in many particulars he drew far apart from his German models. His university was an institution for the education of the whole people, beyond the first elements of learning. He entered an eloquent plea for the education of all. The thatched cottages of the realm, he declared, were to the palaces in the proportion of ten thousand to one; so the likelihood was as ten thousand to one that genius, talent, and virtue would emerge from a cottage rather than from a palace.¹

It was the French view of the administration of educational affairs by the state, rather than the doctrine of naturalism, which became influential in this country at an early period. And we are not surprised that Thomas Jefferson should have been one of the first Americans to respond to this influence.

Jefferson drew suggestions from so wide a range of conference and reading, that his schemes cannot be looked upon as a mere working out of French ideas. Far from it. He learned from Switzerland and Scotland and Old and New England and from many other sources, and reacted vigorously on all that came to him. But the French influence is more conspicuous in his proposals than any other that has not already appeared in this narrative.

In 1779 Jefferson, as a member of the committee appointed to revise the laws of Virginia, presented to the legislature of

¹ *Œuvres de Denis Diderot*, XII., pp. 153-234.

the state a comprehensive bill, "For the more general diffusion of knowledge." Some of the more important provisions of this bill are summarized in his *Notes on the state of Virginia* :

"This bill proposes to lay off every county into small districts of five or six miles square, called hundreds, and in each of them to establish a school for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic. The tutor to be supported by the hundred, and every person in it entitled to send their children three years gratis, and as much longer as they please, paying for it. These schools to be under a visitor, who is annually to chuse the boy, of best genius in the school, of those whose parents are too poor to give them further education, and to send him forward to one of the grammar schools, of which twenty are proposed to be erected in different parts of the country, for teaching Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of numerical arithmetic. Of the boys thus sent in any one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years, and the residue dismissed. By this means twenty of the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expence, so far as the grammar schools go. At the end of six years instruction, one half are to be discontinued (from among whom the grammar schools will probably be supplied with future masters) ; and the other half, who are to be chosen for the superiority of their parts and disposition, are to be sent and continued three years in the study of such sciences as they shall chuse, at William and Mary college, the plan of which is proposed to be enlarged, . . . and extended to all the useful sciences. The ultimate result of the whole scheme of education would be the teaching all the children of the state reading, writing, and common arithmetic : turning out ten annually of superior genius, well taught in Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of arithmetic : turning out ten others annually, of still superior parts, who, to those branches of learning, shall have added such of the sciences as their genius shall have led them to : the furnishing to the wealthier part of the people convenient schools, at which their children may be educated, at their own expence. . . . Of all the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate,

than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate guardians of their own liberty. For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where they will receive their whole education, is proposed, as has been said, to be chiefly historical. History by apprising them of the past will enable them to judge of the future."¹

Some of these ideas were embodied in the law of 1796. But that law left it to the justices of the several counties to inaugurate schools, and the whole plan fell in consequence to the ground. If Jefferson's idea had been carried out, it would have opened up to every boy in Virginia, no matter how poor, the possibility of securing a well-rounded, collegiate education.²

Although Jefferson's earlier scheme was not realized, the failure did not prevent him from accomplishing in his old age the establishment of a state university in Virginia. His ideas were widely influential; yet it would be difficult to point to any systematic application of them in a state establishment of education, unless it be in the early educational system of Missouri. In 1839, Missouri provided by law for an imposing state system of schools, consisting of a central university, with colleges and academies in different parts of the commonwealth. But the scheme was too elaborate and expensive, and was never carried out.³

There was however one piece of broad, creative legisla-

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 243-249. The text of this bill is given in *The writings of Thomas Jefferson* (edited by Paul Leicester Ford), II., pp. 220-229; and the bill for amending the constitution of William and Mary College follows, pp. 229-235.

² Cf. ADAMS, *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia*. In later legislation, the secondary schools were less fortunate than those of the higher and the lower grades. In 1817-18, "It was decided not to interfere with education except in the points where it could not be safely left to individual enterprise, viz., in the case of persons too poor to pay for it themselves and in that where the expense and magnitude of the subject defied individual enterprise, as in case of a university." Jefferson and Cabell correspondence, quoted by BLACKMAR, *Federal and state aid*, p. 174.

³ BLACKMAR, *op. cit.*, p. 286. SNOW, *Higher education in Missouri*, ch. 1: *The University of the state of Missouri*, by THOMAS JEFFERSON LOWRY.

tion which was carried to some sort of completion in this time. The system of educational administration devised for the state of New York, shows unmistakably the working of French ideas, and has in its turn exercised a considerable influence.

The University of the State of New York was established by legislative enactment in 1784, but did not assume its present form till a new organization was adopted in 1787. This university was not established as a local institution nor as a teaching body. It was intended to combine in one comprehensive organism all educational institutions having a corporate existence in the state. At the outset, the regents of the University and the trustees of Columbia College were one body, and it was proposed to make the college the head and mistress of the whole educational system. The chief opposition to this arrangement came from the outlying counties, which were just then becoming desirous of having academies established within their borders.

One of the leading representatives of the college party was Alexander Hamilton. The foremost man in the academy party was Ezra L'Hommedieu. The legislation of 1787, commonly represented as embodying the individual plan of Alexander Hamilton, seems rather to have been the result of a friendly compromise between the opposing factions. It separated the board of Regents from the boards of trustees of Columbia College and of any other colleges or academies which might be established within the University. It seems to have been intended that the University should embrace the elementary schools of the state as well as institutions of secondary and higher education. But the higher schools were provided first, and when a state system of elementary schools was established, at the prompting of the University, it was made a separate organization. The University then embraced and now embraces practically the whole provision for secondary and higher education in the state.¹

¹ In HILDRETH'S *History of the United States* (III., pp. 386-387) appear the following statements with reference to this university: "Through the pro-

After assistance had been extended to the academies of the state for nearly thirty years, in a somewhat irregular fashion, through land grants and special legislative appropriations in money, an act was passed in 1813 establishing a permanent fund, known as the Literature Fund. The income from this fund was, and is now, applied wholly to the support of secondary schools. The principal amounted by 1832 to nearly sixty thousand dollars. It has been supplemented from time to time by the income from lotteries (in 1801), by direct appropriations of state funds, and by various other means; and has contributed greatly to the building up of academic education.

It seems clear that the educational policy of several of our states was influenced by this great and striking piece of university making in New York, though the lines of connection are not always easy to trace. Dr. Sherwood makes a large claim when he says that, "Wherever the 'State

curement of Hamilton, the New York Assembly presently passed an act erecting a board of twenty-one members, called 'Regents of the University of the State of New York,' . . . a board afterward imitated in France, and which still continues to exist." Dr. Sherwood has shown that this legislation was not brought about by "the procurement of Hamilton" in any exclusive sense. The question whether Napoleon consciously imitated the state of New York when he came to establish the University of France is not an easy one. It would probably be safer to say that both Napoleon and the New York legislators were largely influenced and guided by the same French educational theorists, and notably by Diderot and Condorcet. Yet this may not tell the whole story. In the words of Dr. Sherwood, "The similarity which Napoleon's University of 1808 bore to the New York University of 1787 may not be a mere coincidence when it is seen that Condorcet and Fourcroy were thus early aware of what was being done in America for education. And Talleyrand's intimacy with Hamilton on his visit to America may not have been without effect upon the reconstruction of French education. If France may claim to have given New York the ideal of a symmetrical state system of secular learning, New York may claim to have given to France the practical form of such a system, in its all-inclusive university corporation." *University of the State of New York*, p. 272.

Cf. DR. SHERWOOD's later work on the same subject (Circ. Inf., no. 3, 1900), in which he says, "The weight of evidence goes to show that before the formation of our national government in 1789, the source of the new ideas was French, rather than American; while, after the outbreak of the French revolution in 1789, the current runs from America to France." *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

university' is governed by a body of regents who have no teaching functions and who are appointed by the political authority and are accountable to the people in their political capacity there is found the influence of this unique invention, 'the University of the State of New York.'"¹ The assertion may be true. It would be difficult either to prove or to disprove it. But there are a few instances in which it can hardly be doubted that that influence has been direct and powerful.

Georgia followed hard after New York in the founding of the University of Georgia in 1785. The bill for this establishment provided that "All public schools, instituted, or to be supported by funds or public moneys in this state, shall be considered as parts or members of the University." Each county was to have an academy, which was to be a part of the university. The crown of the whole system was to be a central college. The growth of this university has been mainly at the top. Franklin College, its vital centre, has been in existence since 1801. About this have been grouped several departments, as in ordinary university organization. The original plan of making the university a comprehensive system of state education, is still recalled by the existence, in different parts of the state, of five "branch colleges," which are of the nature of technical schools.²

It may be merely a coincidence that the scheme of organization which brought all public schools, from the lowest to the highest, under a single administrative system, should have found favor in certain sections in which the French-speaking population was relatively large. The early history of Louisiana is rich in educational plans and experiments, which were projected on a liberal scale. The story of these undertakings has been well told by Dr. Fay.

Soon after Louisiana came into the possession of the United States, a legislative act was passed "to institute an

¹ Circ. Inf., no. 3, 1900, p. 100.

² JONES, *Education in Georgia*, passim.

university in the Territory of Orleans." The regents of this university were certain civil officers of the territory, and others elected by the legislature for life, as in the New York scheme. This body was directed to set up a "College of New Orleans," and one or more academies in each county within the territory; and they were especially enjoined to establish as many academies as they might judge fit "for the instruction of the youth of the female sex in the English and French languages, and in such branches of polite literature and such liberal arts and accomplishments as may be suitable to the age and sex of the pupils." In addition to all this it was made the duty of the regents to provide public libraries in the several counties. Two annual lotteries were authorized for the support of this great undertaking.

The provision for lotteries was soon revoked, and in its stead direct appropriations were made from the treasury of the state. Important beginnings were made by the regents in the establishment of the proposed college and secondary schools; but in 1821 this system of administration was abandoned, the board of regents was abolished, and the several institutions were continued under separate boards of control. In 1826 the college was given up and a central school and two primary schools were established in its place. Dr. Gayarré's reminiscences of the college, as reported by Dr. Fay, are full of interest.

The proposed academies seem to have come into existence in twelve counties about the year 1811. They were supported in part by state appropriations and in part by parish taxes. Tuition fees were imposed, but with a provision for "beneficiary students." In Louisiana, as in other portions of the country, the period from the thirties to the sixties of the nineteenth century was the time of a slow and painful working up toward the abolition of tuition fees and the establishment of complete systems of free public schools. This movement played a large part in the making of public education during that period.

In the twenties, Louisiana began subsidizing certain colleges and academies, which are described as of a mixed type, "on the border line between the colleges proper and the academies." The College of Rapides, the College of Baton Rouge, and the Academy of Natchitoches, are examples. A little later, in 1833, the practice of granting state subsidies to ordinary academies, secondary institutions incorporated under self-perpetuating boards of trustees, was begun, the Montpelier Academy being the first to receive such encouragement. In all of these cases, the bounty of the state seems to have been granted on condition of the free schooling of a number of "indigent students." Such was the general movement of public secondary education in this state up to the year 1847, when the first free-school act was passed, soon followed by the establishment of the "State Seminary of Learning."¹

The present University of Michigan is the third of a series of institutions incorporated in the attempt to establish a comprehensive system of public instruction. The first was the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania, established by territorial enactment in 1817. This was certainly one of the most whimsical institutions of education ever devised by man. Yet it embodied an imposing and comprehensive scheme of education of the several grades from the lowest to the highest. "The president and *didactors*, or professors," were given power, among other things, "to establish colleges, academies, schools, libraries, musæums, athenœums, botanic gardens, laboratories, and other useful literary and scientific institutions, consonant to the laws of the United States of America and of Michigan, and to appoint officers, instructors and instructri in, among and throughout the various counties, cities, towns, townships and other geographical divisions of Michigan."²

¹ FAY, *History of education in Louisiana*, chs. 2 and 3, pp. 27-79.

² *Laws of the Territory*, II., pp. 104-106.

The territorial government of Michigan followed in its legislation the well-established precedents to be found in the statutes of the states then in exist-

In fact, several primary schools were opened under the provisions of this act; a classical school was organized in Detroit in 1818; and the "First College of Michigania" was established in the same city in 1817.

This act was repealed in 1821 and in place of the Catholopistemiad there was set up a University of Michigan. This university was continued in the control of the little system of schools already established. A territorial law of 1827 provided for common schools in close imitation of the original educational policy of Massachusetts. Every township of fifty families was required to provide a schoolmaster to teach the elementary branches; and every township of two hundred families, to provide a grammar schoolmaster, "well instructed in the Latin, French and English languages," in addition to the master for an elementary school.¹ But little was accomplished, however, till the admission of Michigan into the Union. The legislature of the new state passed an act in 1837 establishing the present state university.

The statute for the establishment of this University of Michigan provided for the opening of "branches" in different parts of the state. These branches were to serve as preparatory schools, and as schools for the training of teachers. The regents, as soon as their board was organized, began establishing such schools; and apparently there were nine in all begun before this policy was discontinued, about 1849. These schools performed a good service in promoting secondary education, in calling forth the competition of towns where they were not established, and in sending well-prepared students to the university. Their maintenance was too great a tax on the resources of the struggling institution. Yet there were those who, when they were at

ence. It was declared in the law establishing the Catholopistemiad that reference had been had to the laws of seven states, viz., Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The New York idea, in all probability, had considerable influence with the framers of the measure.

¹ *Laws of the Territory*, II., pp. 472-477.

last given up, would much rather have seen the university itself closed and the schools continued. Several academies had been started and incorporated, under various names, in Michigan Territory, within the decade preceding the establishment of the university by the newly admitted state. When the "branches" disappeared a new era had dawned, and the place of those preparatory schools was largely taken by the new "high schools."¹

We find the New York idea cropping out here and there in the legislative schemes of other states. There are traces of it in the educational history of Maryland, of Wisconsin, of California. Yet it appears for the most part in the form of mere suggestions or experiments, which came to little or nothing. The fact that for two or three generations the state of New York showed but little appreciation of the significance of its own system may account in some measure for the relatively small influence which that system exerted beyond the limits of the state. Then, too, the rising interest in elementary schools was turned aside into another administrative channel, leaving the university out of the main current of public sentiment. The partial correction of these mistakes belongs to a later period than that now under consideration.

Other state systems, more loosely constructed, and showing little or none of the French influence, were coming into existence. With the achievement of independence and the establishment of a more perfect union, there had arisen a new sense of educational responsibility. But this feeling found expression for the most part in administrative forms which did not sharply diverge from practices that had already grown familiar. The national government granted great areas from the public domain to the state governments, to be used in the maintenance of schools. Having thus subsidized education in the states, it received its applause and withdrew from the stage. It did not undertake to exercise any sort of supervision over the manage-

¹ McLAUGHLIN, *Higher education in Michigan*, passim.

ment, by the states, of the school lands it had granted. The states, in their turn, incorporated and subsidized private educational undertakings, and made but little claim to supervision over the institutions they had aided. Local and individual initiative, generously encouraged by governments which asked few questions and imposed few conditions — such was the prevalent type of educational administration in this country in the earlier history of our national independence.

The academy movement, under this system of loose control, became as powerful in Massachusetts, in the face of the tradition and legislation which held up the town grammar schools, as in the newer states, where it had a clear field from the start. The high standard of education under public control, which had been set by the early colonists, was gradually lowered in the school law of this state. In 1789, if the old law had been strictly complied with, two hundred and thirty of the Massachusetts towns, out of a total of two hundred and sixty-five, would have been obliged to support grammar schools. In that year a general school law was passed, in which the old requirement of a grammar school in each town of one hundred families was changed to a requirement of one in each town of two hundred families. By this change one hundred and twenty of these two hundred and thirty towns were released from the obligation to maintain such schools.¹

In 1824 another change was made, relieving all towns of less than five thousand inhabitants from the obligation to support a school of secondary grade.² There were at that time only seven towns in the state having the required population of five thousand. The letting down of the requirements with reference to grammar schools may have been partly due in 1789, and was doubtless due in large measure in 1824, to the upgrowth of the new academies, and of the ideas which they represented.

¹ MARTIN, *Massachusetts public school system*, p. 85.

² *Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, ch. 3, sec. 1. Approved February 18, 1824.

After endowing seven¹ individual academies with grants of public lands, Massachusetts adopted in 1797 a general policy with reference to such grants. This policy was embodied in the following declaration :

“First, that no academy, (at least not already erected) ought to be encouraged by government, unless it have a neighborhood to support it of at least thirty or forty thousand inhabitants, not accommodated in any manner by any other academies, by any college or school answering the purpose of an academy ; secondly, that every such portion of the commonwealth ought to be considered as equally entitled to grants of State lands to these institutions, in aid of private donations ; and thirdly, that no State lands ought to be granted to any academy, but in aid of permanent funds, secured by towns and individual donors ; and therefore, previous to any such grant of State lands, evidence ought to be produced that such funds are legally secured, at least adequate to erect and repair the necessary buildings, to support the corporation, to procure and preserve such apparatus and books as may be necessary, and to pay a part of the salaries of the preceptors.”

The eight academies then in existence which had received no state endowment, and the four or five more that were necessary to make one for every 25,000 of the population, were then to receive each one-half township of unappropriated lands in “the district of Maine.”² With characteristic devotion to local self-government, Massachusetts proposed no further public control of those schools which she had thus liberally endowed. By 1840 there were more than fifty incorporated academies in the state.

The history of fifteen of the county grammar schools of Maryland has been traced.³ These schools having degenerated as the revolutionary time approached, their funds were variously employed. “Of the fifteen foundations for secon-

¹ Four of these were in Maine, namely, those of Hallowell, Berwick, Fryeburg, and Machias.

² *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXX., pp. 58-59.

³ By MR. SOLLERS. See STEINER, *History of education in Maryland*, ch. 2.

dary education in colonial times, seven went to institutions of the same grade, four to institutions for higher education, one to an institution for elementary education, and two to the support of the poor.”¹ Two of these county schools were united in Washington College in 1782;² and St. John’s College absorbed King William’s School in 1785.³ St. John’s College had been incorporated in 1784, and by the same act the legislature had established the University of Maryland, consisting of the two colleges, Washington on the Eastern Shore and St. John’s on the Western Shore.⁴ These colleges received substantial state aid, which was to have been perpetual.

But here, as in New York, the colleges and academies were regarded as having opposing interests. In 1798⁵ a part of the state moneys was withdrawn from the annual grant to Washington College, and devoted to the support of five academies. This was the beginning of a policy of state aid to secondary schools in the counties, which has been continued in Maryland down to the present time. In 1805 the donations to the colleges were wholly discontinued. By 1812 the ideal of one academy to each county was practically realized. At a later time, 1825 and thereafter, the interests of the primary schools were in turn pitted against those of the academies. The effort to break down the state support of the academies was however unsuccessful.⁶

Pennsylvania, having extended her financial aid in an irregular way for many years, in 1838 adopted a general system of state support for colleges and academies. When this liberal policy was discontinued, in 1843, there were nine colleges, including the University of Pennsylvania, sixty-four academies, and thirty-seven female seminaries which were receiving such assistance. The total annual expen-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

² *Laws of Maryland*, April, 1782, ch. 8.

³ *Id.*, November, 1785, ch. 39.

⁴ *Id.*, November, 1784, ch. 37.

⁵ *Id.*, November, 1798, ch. 107. (The act was passed January 20, 1799.)

⁶ STEINER, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

diture for this purpose rose from \$7,990 in 1838 to \$48,298.31 in 1843.¹

Some of the new states of the south and west have already been mentioned in this account. In the rest of these rising commonwealths, academic institutions came into being at an early day, under the impulse of private enterprise variously encouraged by state and territorial governments. No complete inventory of these undertakings will be attempted here. A few notable examples will give some indication of the public spirit which followed hard after the westward movement of our frontier, and show how educational statesmanship made use of various means to conquer the hard conditions of that life.

Tennessee, while yet a part of North Carolina, saw the establishment of Davidson Academy² at Nashville (incorporated in 1785), which grew at length into the University of Nashville. This academy was endowed with a grant of 240 acres of land in its immediate vicinity. In 1806 Congress granted certain lands to the state of Tennessee for the encouragement of education. This grant included one hundred thousand acres for the use of two colleges, one hundred thousand acres for the use of academies, one in each county, and six hundred and forty acres in every district six miles square for the use of schools.³ The legislature of Tennessee took prompt measures to secure to the state the benefits of this bounty. One of the bills passed for this purpose is astonishing in its comprehensiveness, incorporating, by a single act, twenty-seven boards of trustees for as many academies in the several counties.⁴

Kentucky, too, began establishing academies before its admission into the Union, and in the matter of omnibus

¹ WICKERSHAM, *A history of education in Pennsylvania*, p. 369.

² Martin Academy in Washington County seems to have been incorporated at the same time. *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXIV., p. 320. The act does not appear in Scott's edition of the *Laws of Tennessee*.

³ BLACKMAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-263. MERRIAM, *Higher education in Tennessee*, pp. 20-21.

⁴ *Laws of the state of Tennessee*, 1806, ch. 8.

measures for the incorporation of institutions of learning it was even in advance of Tennessee. Early in the year 1798, the legislature of the state incorporated six academies and seminaries by a single act, and endowed each of these schools with a grant of six thousand acres of land. Later in the same year nineteen more academies were similarly chartered and endowed. By the year 1820, forty-seven county academies had been established in the state, and each of them had received a grant of from six thousand to twelve thousand acres of land. By that time the movement had run its course, the county academies were coming into disfavor, and public educational measures were turning aside into other channels.¹

The constitution of the state of Indiana adopted in 1816 contained the far-sighted provision that "it shall be the duty of the general assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a State University wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all." In 1818 the governor of the state was empowered by law to appoint a "seminary trustee" for each county. In 1820 a "state seminary" was chartered at Bloomington. Out of this state seminary has grown the present State University of Indiana. No county seminary was established until 1825, when one was opened at Liberty in Union County. A general law of the year 1831 provided for the establishment of a seminary in each county. In all, twenty-four of these county seminaries were incorporated, between the years 1825 and 1843. Dr. Woodburn says of them :

"These old seminaries gradually disappeared after the passage of the first school law under the new Constitution. The free public high schools have succeeded to their places. In their day they served an excellent, we may even say indispensable, purpose.

¹ LEWIS, *Higher education in Kentucky*, ch. 2. BLACKMAR, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

They raised the educational standard of the State; they educated teachers, they brought the advantages of education within reach of a majority of the people, and in demonstrating the great benefits therefrom they made possible the movement for universal schools. They were the main reliance for the education of the people for a quarter of a century. They are to be assigned a respectable place in the story of Indiana schools, and their influence is yet felt in the educational forces of the State, not only in the work of a few of their number which still survive, but in the impressions left by the many which have long since suspended their operation.”¹

At the same time that these county seminaries were building, various towns and cities and religious denominations were securing charters for other “seminaries” and “academies.” No less than thirty-seven such institutions were incorporated in the state up to and including the year 1850.

Secondary education in Illinois seems to have begun with the admission of the territory to statehood. The first legislature, in 1819, incorporated Madison Academy at Edwardsville and Washington Academy at Carlyle. Mr. Baker, the father of General Baker of Oregon, who was killed at Ball’s Bluff, opened an academy in Belleville about 1825. The legislature of 1826–27 incorporated an academy in Monroe,² endowed it with school lands, and added the injunction that only useful knowledge is to be taught. The next and much more significant movement in secondary education in this state was in connection with the establishment of the early colleges. Although favorable to academies, the early Illinois legislatures were seemingly fearful of colleges. The dread of ecclesiastical influence seems to have had much to do with their reluctance to grant college charters.³ Rock

¹ WOODBURN, *Higher education in Indiana*, pp. 46–47.

² Presumably Monroe County. I follow here the account by DR. SAMUEL WILLARD, published in the *Fifteenth biennial report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois* [1882–1884].

³ “The prejudices that defeated it [the proposed charter for Illinois College, in 1830] were so absurd that we can hardly realize the potent influence they then possessed. The most prominent argument was the alleged discovery that Presbyterians were planning to gain undue influence in our politics, and were

Spring Seminary, containing the germ of Shurtleff College, was established in 1827, having grown from a school opened three years earlier. Illinois College started with a preparatory school in 1830¹ and organized a college class in 1831, with the Rev. Edward Beecher as president. Instruction began in the McKendreean College (founded at the suggestion of Peter Cartwright) in 1828; though the first college class was not graduated till 1841. At the same time an effort was making to establish a college of the Christian church at Jonesboro. After encountering much difficulty, these four colleges, by a united effort, secured incorporation from the legislature in a single act passed in 1835. From that time the colleges greatly encouraged and promoted the development of secondary schools in the state. The Jacksonville Female Academy was incorporated in 1834. Before 1840, thirty additional academies had been incorporated, under various names, including five schools for girls.

The legislature of 1840-41, in granting charters to several academies, gave to three of them the privilege of receiving public money on the presentation of proper schedules, such as were required of the common schools. This practice does not seem, however, to have become common. Within the following decade several strong secondary schools were established in the state; and the preparatory departments of colleges, commonly bearing the name *academy*, helped to fix the standards of instruction in such institutions.

In Iowa, numerous academies and seminaries were incorporated during the territorial period, but the most of them seem to have had an existence on paper only. One, how-

proposing to control the government of the State in the interest of Presbyterianism." JULIAN M. STURTEVANT, *An autobiography* (New York, 1896), p. 178.

¹ "Three or four of the pupils had already made some progress in the acquisition of the Latin language and were looking forward to a collegiate education and to the Christian ministry. One or two more manifested a desire to commence classical study. The rest wished to pursue rudimentary branches only. . . . There was then no school in the State at which a youth could have prepared for college." *Id.*, pp. 166-167.

ever, grew into a fairly strong institution and has continued to the present time. This is the Denmark Academy, established in 1843. It rose on the ruins of a chimerical scheme for a "Philandrian College," and was for a long time the only incorporated academy in Iowa.¹ The constitution adopted when the state was admitted into the Union, in 1846, provided for a university, "with such branches as the public convenience may hereafter demand." Two such branches were authorized in 1849, one at Fairfield and the other at Dubuque; but the constitution adopted in 1857 discontinued all such branches.²

At about this time secondary education was getting under way in Florida. We are told that in 1840 there were in the territory eighteen academies and grammar schools. The congressional land grant for a "seminary of learning," was not employed, when Florida was admitted as a state, for the establishment of a state university; but instead it was provided by legislative action in 1851 that

"Two seminaries of learning shall be established, one upon the east, the other upon the west side of the Suwanee River, the first purpose of which shall be the instruction of persons, both male and female, in the art of teaching all the various branches that pertain to a good common school education; and next, to give instruction in the mechanic arts, in husbandry, and agricultural chemistry, in the fundamental laws, and in what regards the rights and duties of citizenship."

These two schools, the East Florida Seminary, located at Gainesville, and the West Florida Seminary, located at Tallahassee, in addition to other services, have been especially useful in promoting secondary education in the state.³

The United States Bureau of Education was not in exist-

¹ PARKER, *Higher education in Iowa*, pp. 124-125.

² BLACKMAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-292. "These branches, however, were to be, practically, two independent State universities." *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

³ BUSH, *History of education in Florida*, *passim*.

ence in the great academy age — the earlier half of the nineteenth century — and we have far to seek for any statistical account of American educational institutions during that period. The attempt was made by Mr. B. B. Edwards, the secretary of the American Education Society, to gather full information with respect to American schools and colleges. This attempt was only partially successful; but the report of his findings which Mr. Edwards presented is interesting and valuable.¹ A brief summary of some portions of this report will help us to a better understanding of the extent of our provision for secondary education in the early days of the "Educational Awakening." The report is given by states:

Maine. — Has thirty-two academies and similar institutions. Total value of their property and endowment, about \$250,000. Number of students, about 1,200.

New Hampshire. — Thirty "academies and other public schools."

Vermont. — About thirty-five academies and high schools, but not all in actual operation.

Massachusetts. — Eighty-three academies and private secondary schools of various sorts, twenty-one of which have received a land endowment from the state.

Rhode Island. — One boarding school and one "English and classical seminary" are mentioned.

Connecticut. — Fourteen schools of the academy grade.

New York. — Fifty-seven academies, having buildings and endowments amounting in value to \$400,000, and receiving from the state \$10,000 annually.

New Jersey. — Seven schools which might be designated as academies are mentioned, one of which has been discontinued.

Pennsylvania. — A list of ninety-two "academies and high schools" is given, with the date of incorporation of each of them. The endowments of nearly all are reported.

¹ Article, *Education and literary institutions*, in *American Quarterly Register*, V., pp. 273-333, May, 1833.

Some have land endowments, the value of which is not given. The endowments reported at a money valuation range in amount from \$500 to \$10,000.¹

Delaware. — One academy, "lately established."

Maryland. — "There are several academies, which receive \$800 a year from the state treasury."

Virginia. — About fifty-five academies.

North Carolina. — Number of academies not ascertained.

South Carolina. — A list is given of thirty-two academies which were in existence in 1826.

Georgia. — Four secondary schools are mentioned.

Kentucky. — Twelve secondary schools are mentioned. The literary fund of Kentucky is reported as amounting to \$140,917.44.

Ohio. — "We are not aware that there are any flourishing incorporated academies in the State."

It is clear that this is very far from a complete account of the establishments for secondary education in the early thirties. But it shows at least how our provision for secondary education appeared at that time to one who was in a better position than the most of his contemporaries to know what was going on — at least so far as the northern country, east and west, was concerned.

The account of the colleges is more nearly complete than that of the lower schools. In an earlier number of the same volume is given a comparison of college attendance in the United States with that in various European countries. It is estimated that there were 3,475 "academical" students in American colleges, and 2,751 in the professional schools. In this whole country, there was one person pursuing the higher studies to every 2,078 of the population; in Europe, one to every 2,285 of the population. The proportion was highest in Scotland (one to every 683): and after that in Massachusetts (one to every 792); Baden (one to every 816); and Connecticut (one to every 960). These were the

¹ Here as in some of the other states, endowments are reported in round numbers, which look suspiciously like mere estimates or guesses.

only states or countries having a larger proportion than one to 1,000.¹

Commenting on the educational situation in this country, the article first referred to declared that, "There is much in the state of education in this country, which is encouraging to the philanthropist and scholar. Its great object seems to be more and more distinctly apprehended. The harmonious cultivation of all the powers which belong to man, is regarded as of paramount importance." Here we see the abstract psychological view of education, which was closely bound up with the Pestalozzian movement, already coming to the front in this country.

The growing recognition of the Bible as a text-book in school instruction is referred to. This is significant as showing how far the schools had swung away from the practice of colonial times, when the Bible was a text-book in elementary schools almost as a matter of course. Of similar import is the remark that within five years there had been a noticeable gain in the study of the classics. One other note is significant in a different way: "We have reason to believe that greater attention is paid to *individual* minds at our public institutions. The indiscriminate instruction of a *class* has long been a fatal error. The instructors have not studied the peculiar conformation—the excellencies and defects of particular minds. The sound advice of Mr. Jardine, the excellent Glasgow professor, has produced, we think, considerable effect in this country."² In this we hear what has a familiar sound to our more modern ears. But a consideration of the academies, as they were in their actual working, must be reserved for the chapters next following this.

NOTE

The study of successive phases of influence of foreign countries upon our own is a fascinating one. It can hardly be doubted that much more will be brought to light than has yet been shown respecting French influence

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-24.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.

in American education during the period next following the Revolutionary War. The studies of PROFESSOR HERBERT B. ADAMS and DR. SHERWOOD in this field are full of interest. Attention should be called to a very suggestive sketch by DR. HINSDALE, entitled *Notes on the history of foreign influence upon education in the United States*. In *Rept. Comr. Ed.*, 1897-98, I., pp. 591-629.

After all is said and done in this field of inquiry, the impression remains that there was in this period a tremendous moving of the spirit of education in ways that may fairly be called American, as distinguished from any pattern set by European nations.

CHAPTER XI

THE CHARACTER OF THE ACADEMIES

THE academy was the institution for secondary education wrought out by the American people in the first half century of their independence, and it was the dominant institution of its class for at least another half century. It appeared under different names and in different forms, and its character changed as time went on. In its varied developments, it contributed largely to the making of American civilization. The nature of this contribution and of the institution which made it must now be considered a little more particularly.

To begin with, some differences between the academy and the grammar school, and the social conditions out of which they respectively arose, should be mentioned. The early grammar-school-and-college system, as was pointed out, belonged to a society in which there was a conscious cleavage between higher and lower classes. In the revolutionary period there was a strong tendency toward democracy. Yet the democracy with which the present generation has been familiar had not yet come into being. A most important turning-point was passed when the Republican party came into power, with Thomas Jefferson in the presidential chair. The rise of the west within the twenty years next following, made for a great advance in democratic spirit. And this was a time when academies were springing up everywhere.

The academy age was, in fact, the age of transition from the partially stratified colonial society to modern democracy. Perhaps the most marked feature of that transition was the growing importance of a strong middle class. The rise of the academies was closely connected with the rise of this

middle-class. The academies were by no means exclusive middle-class schools at the start, and they became somewhat very different from that at a later period. But it is one of their glories that they were in the earlier days so bound up with the higher interests of the common people.

There was in the academies a growing sense of the value of education for its own sake, or rather for its effect in the heightening of sheer human worth. To be sure the colonial colleges had not been professional schools in the modern sense; but they were valued chiefly because they gave such an education as a member of one of the learned professions required. In this way the professional spirit was strong in them, apparently stronger than the spirit of "culture," to use the word in a modern sense. But the idea of liberal culture took strong hold of the academies; and it would, perhaps, be fair to call it the dominant note of both academy and college education in the nineteenth century.

There were many reasons for this change of attitude. It may have been influenced in some measure by Rousseau. This influence, however, was indirect for the most part, though the *Émile* was read somewhat on this side of the water.¹ Then, our revolutionary period was alive with the doctrine of the rights of man and with the assertion of human freedom. The minds of men were receptive not only to the ideas of revolutionary France, but also to those ancient conceptions of the rights and duties of freemen which the study of Latin and Greek had made familiar. So this ideal of liberal culture which made its way into the academies and was spread abroad by them, was a blending of many elements, all fused in a very religious enthusiasm. It gave us a noble view of the worth of education, a view which tended doubtless to abstraction, but which was very high and generous. It had consequences, too, of a thoroughly practical sort.

¹ There had been preparation here for some of the ideas of Rousseau and his school. The Quaker doctrine of a continuous revelation was the religious counterpart and forerunner of the "return to nature."

The old grammar schools had, many of them, been erected to supply the educational need of single communities. An academy, on the other hand, was not commonly regarded as merely local institution. It served a widely scattered constituency. The Phillips academies came, in fact, to be in a sense national, like the great public schools of England.

We have seen that the close corporation was the characteristic type of academy organization, replacing those various forms of control which were found in the grammar schools. Where there was a deviation from this type, it was not in the direction of management by some public corporation, as in the grammar schools, but rather in the direction of ecclesiastical control. The members of the managing board of an academy were commonly drawn from several localities, and these sometimes remote from one another.

The earlier academies were not bound up with the college system in the same way as the grammar schools: they were not primarily "fitting schools." They were, instead, institutions of an independent sort, taking pupils who had already acquired the elements of an English education, and carrying them forward to some, rather indefinite, rounding-out of their studies.

The constitutions of the Philadelphia academy and of the two schools founded by the Phillips family, set forth the purposes of those several institutions, but make no such mention of preparation for college as is contained in the New England laws providing for grammar schools, or in official documents relating to the grammar schools of Maryland and Virginia. We even find the interests of the academies sometimes set over against those of the colleges, as in New York and Maryland, the two institutions being regarded as belonging to diverse educational systems. The colleges were for the higher, and particularly the professional, classes. The academies were the colleges of the people. So the matter stood in the controversies of the time.

On the other hand, it should be noted that, even in the

earlier academies, the classical studies were arranged with reference to college admission requirements, for the convenience of such students as might go on to some higher institution. The tradition of the grammar schools, too, made itself felt in the new institutions. In fact, the classical side of the academies was virtually the old grammar school continued in a new setting. In the better schools the college preparatory course was the backbone of the whole system of instruction. While the academies were much more than fitting schools, it was the admission requirements of the colleges, more than anything else, that determined their standards of scholarship.¹

Up to the year 1800, Latin, Greek, and arithmetic were the only subjects required for admission to the leading American colleges.² The requirements in the classics were not definitely marked out in the eighteenth century, except at the college in New York. King's College, as early as 1755, had made the quantitative requirement of three of Tully's orations, the first three books of the *Æneid*, the first ten chapters of St. John's gospel, and all of the rules of Clarke's *Introduction*. Columbia College, thirty years later, extended this requirement to include the four orations against Catiline, the first four books of the *Æneid*, and apparently the whole of Cæsar's Gallic War and all four of the gospels.

Between the year 1800 and the breaking out of the Civil War, five new subjects found a place in the requirements for admission to the regular college course. These are given as follows, with the dates of their first appearance: Geography, 1807; English grammar, 1819; algebra, 1820;

¹ Cf. DR. BROOME'S monograph, referred to in foot-note 2 on page 129 — an extended study of the history of requirements for admission to American colleges. Through the courtesy of Dr. Broome I was permitted to make use of the manuscript of this monograph prior to its publication, and have availed myself particularly of that portion which relates to the nineteenth century.

² The ambiguous term, "grammar," appears in the Williams College requirements for 1795.

geometry, 1844; ancient history, 1847. All of these subjects were first required by Harvard College, with the exception of English grammar, in which Princeton took the lead; but each of the new requirements named spread gradually to other institutions.¹

Academy students who were preparing for college pursued the studies, now slowly increasing in number and in definiteness, which their several colleges prescribed. But the notable thing about the academies, as distinguished from the grammar schools, was that they went on adding subjects to this programme at their own sweet will, wholly regardless of what the colleges were doing. Sometimes they brought subjects down from the college course; sometimes they took subjects which the most of the colleges did not touch. Perhaps the most significant of these additions were studies in the English language, in history, and in certain branches of natural science. Occasionally, too, we find mention of the modern foreign languages. And books were studied which treated of ethics and psychology in some of their practical aspects. Watts' *Improvement of the mind* was one of these.

The first stage in the introduction of natural science into the programme of studies is seen in the laying of strong emphasis on mathematics, especially on algebra and geometry. Closely connected with these subjects was the study of astronomy. It is easy to see the relation between this movement and that rising interest in natural phenomena which had found expression in the academies of England. Here as there astronomy was received with favor because of the new stimulus which it gave to the sense of religious awe. The work of Herschel was now added to that of Newton. The wonder of the heavens was increased, and the expectation of new discoveries lent further interest to the science. It is, indeed, a distinct loss to our secondary education that this earlier study of astronomy is now so largely discontinued.

"Natural philosophy" followed close upon astronomy,

¹ DR. BROOME'S MS.

or not infrequently absorbed astronomy, which then made one of the chief divisions of the more comprehensive subject. The several formal divisions of physics were also included in this natural philosophy. Electricity and magnetism were already fascinating studies. A patriotic as well as scientific interest attached to the story of Franklin's experiments. Even before the close of the eighteenth century, some schools had "philosophical" apparatus for use by the instructor in the presence of the class. At odd times, students as well as teachers performed experiments with such apparatus; but the era of regular school laboratories was still far off.

✓ Chemistry was taught along with natural philosophy, and by similar methods. Geography, too, began to be emphasized. This subject presents a good example of the influence of text-books. With the publication of Morse's geography, in 1784, it became an easy matter to manage a course of geographical study, such as it was. There were many interesting things in the text-book, and the subject was intrinsically attractive, besides offering a great store of useful information. So geography soon made headway in the schools, and later found a place in college admission requirements.

In all of the studies of this group, the speculative and liberal interest ran alongside of the consideration of practical use — sometimes the one ahead, and then again the other. To the general public, such subjects doubtless appealed chiefly on account of some sort of usefulness. Their practical value was sometimes emphasized by the addition of technical instruction in surveying and navigation, after the example of a few of the colonial schools.

The study of the English language and literature in the academies, as recommended by Defoe, and still more as recommended by Franklin, seems to have been intended to fill a place somewhat like that which English occupies in our best secondary schools at the present time. The master-pieces of English prose and poetry were to be studied criti- ✓

cally, with a view to a just appreciation of their beauties as well as of their defects. Practice in composition under intelligent supervision was to form the students' English style. By oral reading and declamation they were to be trained to an effective public presentation of worthy sentiments.

There were many hindrances in the way of the attainment of this ideal—such hindrances as we can hardly realize in our day. Tradition, apparatus, and atmosphere were all lacking, and only a few great teachers can get on without such aids. Franklin's letter to the trustees of the College of Philadelphia, with reference to the depression of the English school, is a pathetic setting-forth of these difficulties. It seems likely that the better teachers of English branches in our early academies tried faithfully to give their pupils some real introduction to English literature, but the accounts of their work are scrappy and obscure.

Lindley Murray's grammar, published in 1795, gave the first definite direction to this department of study.¹ In the study of English grammar a means was found of giving form to the chaotic desire to study the vernacular. The tradition of Latin grammar easily passed over into this branch of study. The school spirit of the age could comprehend its significance. In the hands of skilful teachers it could be made intensely interesting to many students, and especially to those whose belated opportunities brought them to the academies near the end of their teens, with

¹ Or, to state the case more fully, the rising interest in the English language and literature resulted in the publication of several works on English grammar, the most influential of which was Lindley Murray's; and these publications reacted upon the interest which had called them forth. As early as 1780, William Woodbridge heard a class of young ladies parsing English in a Philadelphia school. *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVII., p. 273.

An interesting series of articles on instruction and text-books in English grammar appeared in volume XII. of the *Common School Journal* (Boston, 1850). The writer declared that, "It is hardly sixty years since English grammar was taught in any New England school, though previously to that time, Lowth's Grammar was taught at Harvard College, and, perhaps, at others." *Loc. cit.*, p. 5.

minds eager for intellectual exercise, which their childhood had largely missed. English grammar soon became one of the standard subjects of academy instruction; and a large part of the fluid and formless aspiration after the study of English was run into the grammatical mould.

This, however, does not tell the whole story. Certain English masterpieces, *Paradise Lost*, the *Essay on Man*, and Cowper's *Task*, and along with these, Pollock's *Course of Time*, were used for parsing exercises, and sometimes furnished at the same time materials for exercises in reading. While this practice was open to grave objections, it cannot be denied that it led some students to an appreciation of good literature. At its best, it was much better than some present-day instruction in Vergil and Cicero. Logic and rhetoric were sometimes brought over from the ancient trivium and made to round out the English side of the academy programme. There was great interest, too, during this period, in the practice of declamation. But one of the most noteworthy lines of English instruction in the early academies was provided by the new school reading books. Interest in English literature combined with moral aspiration and with patriotic devotion to everything American, in determining the content of our earliest works of this class.

It is interesting to note the sense of pride and confidence in America and Americanism which flamed up when the independence of the colonies was secured and the national constitution was established. The rapid growth of the country to westward added fuel to this sentiment. There was in it a great deal of crude and ignorant bumptiousness, such as Dickens saw and made the whole world see. But there was in it, too, a passionate devotion to the ideal of free government, and an abundance of hero-worship. Washington was a demigod and lived among the clouds, even before he became president. We may gather as much from the bitter comment of his enemies. Putnam and Wayne and La Fayette and Marion and Light Horse Harry were heroes. The Declaration of Independence was a sacred

document, and the Signers were held in reverence not wholly unlike that with which the early church regarded the twelve apostles.

It is good for youth to have generous enthusiasms, and this exuberant Americanism was one of the most pervasive influences at work in the old academies. In some measure it took the place of the religious instruction of the old grammar schools, at the same time that the reading book was taking the place of the Psalter and Testament.

Noah Webster's *American Selection* or "Third Part" (1785) was crowded with examples of American eloquence. Caleb Bingham's *American Preceptor* (1794) and *Columbian Orator* (1797) followed this lead, though containing a little more of eighteenth-century English literature. Lindley Murray's series of readers, and particularly his *Sequel* (1801) drew largely upon Milton and the essayists and poets of the eighteenth century. The book last named was "designed to improve the highest class of learners, to establish a taste for just and accurate composition and to promote the interests of piety and virtue."¹

In addition to the patriotic selections of the reading books there was more definite instruction in the history of the United States, supplemented by some account of other nations. The classical course seems generally to have offered no instruction in history, except in the annals of Greece and Rome. But this has been the case even in our high schools, down to a recent period. If the history taught in the academies was hardly more than an appendage of literary studies, it will be remembered that until well on into the nineteenth century historians were commonly ranked as contributors to *belles-lettres*.

The course of study in the earlier schools was not clearly formulated. That part which looked to preparation for college was, however, fairly well defined in the tradition

¹ See REEDER, *Historical development of school readers*, pp. 36-41. There is an interesting note by Mr. Augustus C. Buell on the influence of Sanders' old Fifth Reader, in the *Saturday Review of the New York Times* for April 5, 1902, p. 228.

received from the grammar schools. The arrangement of the newer studies was open to free experiment. It seems to have been a common practice to form classes during the winter months in such subjects as might be of especial interest to the young farmers who came into the school when the fall work was over, and must leave when the spring ploughing began. The separation of the English from the classical course appears at a very early day.

The history of the Phillips Exeter curriculum is instructive. In the year 1808, the number of classes in that academy was reduced, and a uniform system of classification established. At this time the requirements for admission to the English course were defined, and probably somewhat advanced. Ten years later the admission requirements were made more rigid, and the separation of the English from the classical department was sharpened. The full course of study for the year 1818 is given as follows: ¹

CLASSICAL DEPARTMENT.

For the First Year :

Adam's Latin Grammar ; Liber Primus, or a similar work ; Viri Romani, or Cæsar's Commentaries ; Latin Prosody ; Exercises in Reading and making Latin ; Ancient and Modern Geography ; Virgil and Arithmetic.

For the Second Year :

Virgil ; Arithmetic and Exercises in Reading and making Latin, continued ; Valpey's Greek Grammar ; Roman History ; Cicero's Select Orations ; Delectus ; Dalzel's Collectanea Graeca Minora ; Greek Testament ; English Grammar and Declamation.

For the Third Year :

The same Latin and Greek authors in revision ; English Grammar and Declamation continued ; Sallust ; Algebra ; Exercises in Latin and English translations, and Composition.

¹ BELL, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-94.

For the Advanced Class :

Collectanea Græca Majora ; Q. Horatius Flaccus ; Titus Livius ; Parts of Terence's Comedies ; Excerpta Latina, or such Latin and Greek authors as may best comport with the student's future destination ; Algebra ; Geometry ; Elements of Ancient History ; Adam's Roman Antiquities, etc.

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT.

For admission into this department the candidate must be at least twelve years of age, and must have been well instructed in Reading and Spelling ; familiarly acquainted with Arithmetic, through Simple Proportion with the exception of Fractions, with Murray's English Grammar through Syntax, and must be able to parse simple English sentences.

The following is the course of instruction and study in the English Department, which with special exceptions, will comprise three years.

For the First Year :

English Grammar including exercises in Reading, in Parsing, and Analyzing, in the correction of bad English ; Punctuation and Prosody ; Arithmetic ; Geography, and Algebra through Simple Equations.

For the Second Year :

English Grammar continued ; Geometry ; Plane Trigonometry and its application to heights and distances ; mensuration of Sup. and Sol. ; Elements of Ancient History ; Logic ; Rhetoric ; English Composition ; Declamation and exercises of the Forensic kind.

For the Third Year :

Surveying ; Navigation ; Elements of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, with experiments ; Elements of Modern History, particularly of the United States ; Moral and Political Philosophy, with English Composition, Forensics, and Declamation continued.

The religious spirit was still strong in the academies, but it was passing through a transformation. A marked characteristic of this transition was the appearance of the idea of non-sectarian religious instruction. This conception, together with its practical application, is a notable feature in the history of these schools.

Some of the academies, to be sure, were conducted on denominational lines and under ecclesiastical control. But the extreme subdivision of sectarian bodies made it difficult to secure adequate support for many such institutions. The friends of learning saw that schools could be established and properly maintained only by getting those of divergent religious beliefs to pull together, making education a common cause. There was, moreover, a growing dissatisfaction with the prevalent sectarian strife. One indication of this sentiment is seen in the establishment of the church of the Disciples (about 1827), under the leadership of Alexander Campbell, for the avowed purpose of bringing about a union of all Christians in an organization based upon the Bible alone, and having no creed nor liturgy. The Unitarian movement, too, which was destined to exercise so powerful an influence upon American education, was giving expression to a mighty protest against the dominance of religious forms and creeds.

There was already a limited acceptance of the principle that those doctrines on which the various sects had divided should be excluded from the schools. In a discourse at the dedication of the academy at Milton, in 1807, the Rev. Thomas Thacher went so far as to say, "A Preceptor has no right to inculcate his peculiar sentiments in theology on the mind of the pupil." Others, who might not have agreed with the general principle thus expressed, would at least maintain that the schools would do better to touch on only those broad aspects of religious belief upon which their constituents were practically agreed; but would have these presented with all fulness and earnestness.

So the academies were generally pervaded by a religious

spirit, which was often deep and intense; but which was non-ecclesiastical, in that it kept clear of those doctrines which are peculiar to any single church. In this way they bridged over the gulf which separates the ecclesiasticism of the earlier grammar schools from the secularism of modern public-school systems.

The grammar schools had been for the most part one-teacher schools, and when the teacher was assisted by an usher, there was no distribution of the subjects of instruction between the two. The principal teacher still taught everything, and the usher was merely a helper, who taught the beginners, it might be, or did whatever task was assigned to him. This plan was departed from when a separate teacher was appointed to give instruction in writing and the mathematical branches. Such an arrangement foreshadowed the academy system.

In the academies the prevalent form of organization was that in which the work of instruction was divided among two or more teachers, and the distribution made according to subjects. A partial variant from this type is seen in some early co-educational schools, where the "preceptor" taught the boys, while the "preceptress" taught the girls in another room. But even in these cases, boys and girls were sometimes brought together for instruction in some subject in which either the one or the other of the teachers was especially proficient.

At the Leicester (Massachusetts) Academy provision was made at the outset for a "Preceptor in the Greek and Latin languages" and a "Teacher of English, writing, arithmetic, etc." These two teachers were practically independent of each other. In 1821, however, the supervision of both departments was definitely committed to the preceptor of the Latin School, and three years later a horizontal division was adopted, into an upper and a lower school.¹

It is not to be supposed that the transition from the age of the grammar school to the academy age could be made

¹ WASHBURN, *History of Leicester Academy*, pp. 19-20, 30.

without some conflict between their characteristic types of education. There were those in Massachusetts who lamented the passing of schools of the earlier type. As far back as 1795, Samuel Adams, in his inaugural address as governor of Massachusetts, said:

"It is with satisfaction that I have observed the patriotic exertions of worthy citizens to establish academies in various parts of the Commonwealth. It discovers a zeal highly to be commended. But while it is acknowledged that great advantages have been derived from these institutions, perhaps it may be justly apprehended that multiplying them may have a tendency to injure the ancient and beneficial mode of education in town grammar schools.

"The peculiar advantage of such schools is that the poor and the rich may derive equal benefit from them; but none excepting the more wealthy, generally speaking, can avail themselves of the benefits of the academies. Should these institutions detach the attention and influence of the wealthy from the generous support of the town schools, is it not to be feared that useful learning, instruction, and social feelings in the early parts of life may cease to be so equally and universally disseminated as it has heretofore been?"¹

Judge Phillips seems to have given up the town grammar school as hopeless before determining to establish an academy. The public was not sufficiently interested to get and keep good teachers—if such could be found; the school was lacking in moral and religious vitality; and it was unfortunately bound down to a study of the classics.² At Haverhill, as late as 1825, there was an animated newspaper discussion of the question whether an academy should be established or steps taken to improve the existing town grammar school.³

When the new type of school came to be well recognized and popular, some of the old grammar schools were regularly transformed into academies. The Hopkins school at Hadley

¹ Quoted by MARTIN, *Massachusetts public school system*, pp. 128-129.

² PARK, *Earlier annals*, pp. 11-20.

³ BARTLETT, *Haverhill Academy*, etc., p. 20.

was one of these. As early as 1754, a vote was passed declaring that, "The Town is willing that the estate given for the support of a Grammar School in the Town of Hadley, be employed . . . for the support of an Academy in the Town of Hadley." If this suggestion had been acted on immediately, Hadley would in all probability have had the first New England academy. It was more than sixty years, however, before such a step was taken. In 1816 the trustees of the "Hopkins Donation School," as it was then called, were incorporated by the Massachusetts legislature as "The Trustees of Hopkins Academy." In accordance with the policy formulated in 1797, the legislature made a grant of a half-township of land for the benefit of the new academy. This was in 1820.

A famous suit at law, affecting the Hopkins Academy, was carried through the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in 1833. The trustees were charged with a perversion of the true intent of the Hopkins foundation in that they had extended the privileges of the academy to non-residents of Hadley on equal terms with members of the home community. The court rendered its decision in favor of the defence, finding no ground for the supposition that the endowment was originally intended for the exclusive use of the inhabitants of Hadley. This case throws a side-light of some importance on the relation of the academies to the public.¹

The grammar school at Roxbury was incorporated in 1789, the board of trustees being made the successors of both the feoffees of the original grammar school and the trustees of the Bell endowment. In this instance, some shreds of connection with both ecclesiastical and civil authorities were retained; for the minister and the two oldest deacons of the First Church of Christ in Roxbury were made members of the corporation by virtue of their respective offices, and the trustees were required to exhibit a copy of their accounts at the call of the town meeting.

¹ Cf. *History of the Hopkins fund, grammar school and academy*, ch. 8-10, and 15.

The grammar school at Hartford, so long maintained, with such varying fortunes, became virtually an academy by its incorporation in 1798. It still continued to be a one-teacher school until 1828, when it was broadened out and four teachers were employed. The funds, however, were inadequate, and the affairs of the school were in a bad way until the high school movement gave it new life some eighteen years after this.

On the other hand, a few of the old grammar schools successfully resisted the new movements. Foremost among these was the Boston Latin School, which continued to be a Latin school of the earlier type, and devoted itself steadily, and almost exclusively, to the preparation of students for admission to Harvard College.

Under the system adopted for the public schools of Boston in 1789, the minimum age for admission to the Latin School¹ was fixed at ten years, and the course of study was reduced to four years. Children were from this time on admitted to the reading and writing schools of the town at the age of seven years, "having previously received the instruction usual at Women's Schools," *i. e.*, at the so-called "dame schools;" and might continue vibrating daily between the reading and writing schools up to the age of fourteen. Those who from the age of ten entered the Latin school were permitted to spend certain hours daily thereafter in a writing school.

Under Principal Gould, about 1823, the age of admission to the Latin School was reduced to nine years, and one year was added to the length of the curriculum. In 1860, the curriculum was lengthened to six years, and the time of admission raised again to ten years. Later changes belong to the high school period, and show somewhat the influence of the high schools and of the forces which have been shaping the high school policy.²

¹ It was not until this time that the name Latin School or Latin Grammar School became definitely settled on the institution, which has been so designated to the present day.

² JENKS, *Historical sketch*, *passim*.

The inner life of the academies was different in many ways from that of the earlier schools. A large proportion of the academy students came from a distance, and were for the time being under the quasi-parental oversight of the academy teachers. Dormitories were not generally provided at first. The students were boarded in the town as were those in attendance on the county grammar schools. The academy superintendence was extended, in a way, to their life in these temporary homes. It was not long, however, before institutions appeared with provision for the whole round of the student's life. Nazareth Hall, as we saw, had its dormitory from the start.

The average age of academy students was higher than that of the boys in the grammar schools; and it was no uncommon thing to see young men who had already attained their majority beginning Latin in one of these schools along with little boys. Benjamin Abbot, the chief of our early academy masters, was himself one of those who had started late. In some instances young volunteers at the close of their army service entered an academy to continue their interrupted schooling. The presence of girls in many of these schools brought with it an atmosphere of home. On the whole, the discipline of the academies was milder than that of the grammar schools had been, and the student body was characterized by somewhat more of maturity of thought and purpose.

Student organizations soon began to appear. These were commonly, at first, rhetorical or debating clubs. Such a club, known as the Rhetorical Society, was in existence at Phillips Exeter previous to the year 1818. In that year the Golden Branch Society was organized, which seems before long to have taken the place of the earlier organization. This was a secret society at the outset. It seems to have had great influence in shaping the life of the school. Its president, a few years after its founding, spoke of earlier days when academy boys and town boys had sometimes met in open conflict, armed with cudgels, clubs, and even,

it was added, with pistols. He attributed the more peaceable character which the academy had then, in 1824, achieved, to the influence of the Golden Branch. At a later time a fierce feud broke out between this society and the academy boys who had not been admitted to its charmed circle, but it was long before a rival society was established. The Social Fraternity and the Philomathean Society of the Phillips Andover Academy date from about this time.

Annual and occasional "exhibitions" were affairs in which the social interest of the academy year culminated. We find such an exhibition referred to at Leicester Academy as early as 1785. And five years later we hear of a dramatic performance by the academy pupils. The academy plays at Leicester soon came to be looked forward to with great anticipations. They were acted in the meeting-house, if contemporary accounts may be believed. Scenery was constructed, and both boys and girls took part in the representation, the academy being co-educational. One play referred to was the "Scolding Wife."¹

School hours were shortened somewhat, and there was time for play. At Leicester, in 1820, the school day lasted from eight to twelve in the forenoon and from two to six in the afternoon. But in 1834 this was reduced. From half-past eight to twelve and from half-past one to half-past four were the hours then prescribed, with a change of the afternoon session in summer to make it extend from two to five.²

Football was the standard autumn game at Phillips Exeter as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century. The whole school participated in this game, being divided into two equal sides. No one was allowed to take the ball from the ground, and the game consisted for the most part of vigorous kicking. "Bat and ball" was played in the spring.

A very unfavorable account of American education was

¹ WASHBURN, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

published in *Blackwood's Magazine* in the year 1819.¹ It begins with condemnation of the academies: "The Americans take a strange delight in high-sounding names, and often satisfy themselves for the want of the thing, by the assumption of the name. These academies are not always exclusively classical schools; some are partly appropriated to education for the counter and the counting-room; and as far as this object goes, there is no striking defect in them; it not being a very difficult matter to teach a lad to count his fingers and take care of his dollars. But in all that relates to classic learning, they are totally deficient; there is not one, from Maine to Georgia, which has yet sent forth a single first-rate scholar; no, not one since the settlement of the country, equal even to the most ordinary of the thirty or forty, which come out every year from Schule Pforta, and Meissen. . . . This arises from bad masters and a bad method of study. . . . They [the masters] are mere language masters, not scholars. . . . Virgil and Cicero are read in the miserable paraphrases of Davidson and Duncan. In this way the preparatory books are run through; nothing is read but what is necessary for matriculation, and that so superficially as to be of no use."

The common American practice of educating boys in day schools is condemned. Those Carolina gentlemen who have sent their sons to Europe to be educated are accorded high praise. "The city of Charleston is still illuminated by a constellation of these European formed scholars." But the picture that is presented of the country as a whole is dark enough. Higher education is shown to be as badly off as that of middle grade, if not, indeed, in a worse condition.

This attack called forth a reply in the *North American Review* for September of the same year. But this was a rather halting production, admitting much that the writer in

¹ Two articles *On the means of education, and the state of learning, in the United States of America*. Cf. MR. McMASTER's extended review of the controversial literature of which these articles formed a part, in his *History of the people of the United States*, V., ch. 48.

Blackwood's had asserted, and offering only a vague answer to such criticisms as met with dissent. The hopeful signs that appear in this discussion are an acknowledgment of the high attainments of Americans in the learned professions, and some indications of a disposition to improve the schools.

Whatever their defects, it would be difficult to measure the influence of the academies in our new national life. They were in sympathetic touch with our inchoate civilization, and helped it to find itself in its relations with the great world of human thought. Revolution on both sides of the Atlantic marked the age of their early development. The romantic movement was winning its triumphs in English as well as Continental literature. The Americanism and republicanism of the early academies was ready to respond to such influences. The romantic spirit was there in full measure. So a generation was brought up prepared to appreciate and take pride in the work of our early American writers. Probably the great majority of that constituency for which Bryant and Irving and Cooper and Simms and Willis wrote had had their taste formed in the old academies or felt only a little less directly the academy influence. And when the great group of New Englanders began to produce, a large part of their readers were such, as had received an academy education.

We have seen that at the outset the academies were not intended as preparatory schools, and represented rather an independent educational movement. As time went on, they came into close relations with the colleges. But while the grammar schools simply followed the lead of the colleges and sought to meet their requirements, there can be little doubt that the academies reacted at the first with some degree of influence upon the higher institutions.

In the latter part of the eighteenth and the earlier part of the nineteenth century, the colleges were receiving many intimations of the fact that their curriculum did not meet the public need. The academies were the popular institutions of the day in more senses than one. But the colleges

came by slow degrees into closer adjustment with the demands of the age. They enlarged their programme of studies, but to do this was to add subjects already taught in the academies. It is altogether likely that one consideration which led the colleges to make such a change was the example of the more popular schools; and this seems all the more probable when we remember that some of the progressive college men of the time had had their first experience as teachers in one or another of these academies.

An excellent example is found in Timothy Dwight the elder. In his career as an academy instructor he had taken a deep interest in studies in natural science. He carried this same spirit into the presidency of Yale College. He called about him such men as Silliman, Olmsted, and Dana, and soon made Yale the chief scientific centre among our American colleges. This course of action greatly increased the popularity and influence of that institution, and was doubtless one reason why it became such a mighty force in the making of our western civilization. Other eastern colleges, whether influenced by Yale or by the academies or by popular sentiment or by all at once, expanded gradually their range of instruction.

The establishment of other college courses, parallel with the time-honored classical course, seems to have begun at Columbia, where a scientific and literary course was offered as early as 1830. French appears among the subjects required for admission to that course. This was a notable innovation. It was not until the seventies that modern languages were included among the subjects which might be offered for admission to the classical course of our leading colleges.¹ The "parallel" course at Columbia was discontinued in 1843. But about this time other colleges began offering similar courses; and already Harvard was making those noteworthy early experiments in the introduction of elective college studies.

In English, mathematics, and natural science, it seems.

¹ DR. BROOME'S MS.

clear that some of the academies, at the close of the last century and for one or two decades thereafter, were far in advance of the requirements for admission to college. President Dwight made his academy at Greenfield Hill "not only preparatory to but parallel with the college course."¹ Moses Waddel, in South Carolina, prepared his better students to enter the junior class in college.² Lewis Cass, in 1799, received from Phillips Exeter Academy a certificate to the effect that he had been a member of the academy seven years; that he had "acquired the principles of the English, French, Latin, and Greek languages, Geography, Arithmetic, and practical Geometry;" and that he had "made very valuable progress in the study of Rhetoric, History, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Logic, Astronomy and Natural Law."³ Yet neither geography nor arithmetic seems to have been required for admission to Harvard College until 1803. In the early days of the college, arithmetic had been a study for the senior year. The Constitution of the Episcopal Academy, adopted in 1796, provided that the following subjects should be taught in that institution: "The English Language, Philosophy, Mathematics, History, and every other science usually taught at Colleges; likewise the dead languages, such as Greek and Latin."⁴ These institutions knew hardly any limit to their studies excepting such as were fixed by the demand for instruction and their ability to meet that demand.

But in the latter part of the nineteenth century, when high schools had largely taken the place of academies as the ordinary agency of secondary education, the academies swung back toward the position of distinctively "preparatory" institutions. The reputation that some of them have gained as among the foremost fitting schools for our foremost colleges, has obscured the fact that fitting for college was a subordinate consideration in their original establishment.

¹ STEINER, *Education in Connecticut*, p. 136.

² MERIWETHER, *Higher education in South Carolina*, p. 40.

³ BELL, *Phillips Exeter Academy*, p. 25.

⁴ STEINER, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

The new colleges growing up in the western and southern states, where secondary schools were still few and weak, were generally under the necessity of maintaining preparatory departments. These came to be commonly known as academies. They contributed largely to the secondary education of the newer portions of the country. In not a few instances, the academy was first established, and the college was a later development, after the fashion of the Philadelphia institution.

Whether the direct influence of the academies on the colleges was great or small, there can be no doubt as to the greatness of their services in certain other directions. A new sense of the need of elementary schools was arising and the number of such schools was on the increase. But there was a great lack of even moderately well-prepared teachers, and the academies were looked to for improvement in this respect. We have seen that one reason urged by Franklin for the establishment of the academy at Philadelphia was "that a number of the poorer sort will hereby be qualified to act as schoolmasters in the country." We may well imagine that the need was great.¹

Again and again we find the establishment of academies urged on the ground of the need of better teachers in the elementary schools. In 1830 a seminary was opened by Samuel R. Hall, in connection with the Phillips Academy at Andover, for the special preparation of teachers for the common schools. Horace Mann visited and studied this school when he was engaged in furthering the state normal school movement. The Regents of the University of New

¹ Governor Worthington of Ohio, in 1817, recommended that a free school be established at the capital of the state "to educate . . . the sons of poor parents (no other) for teachers." Quoted by MAYO, *Education in the Northwest during the first half century of the Republic*. Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1894-95, p. 1531. In this case *poor* evidently refers to lack of means rather than lack of brains; perhaps so in Franklin's suggestion. In Jefferson's scheme, the brighter pupils who had completed the grammar school course were to be sent to college and those less bright were to be sent out as teachers.

York in their annual report of 1821 say of the academies: "It is to these seminaries that we must look for a supply of teachers for the common schools." In 1833 teachers' classes were instituted in these New York academies. Repeated efforts were made in Pennsylvania to make the academies answer the purpose of normal schools. Finally, when the organization of state normal schools began, in 1839, the institution that came into being was an academy without foreign languages, in which students were instructed in the various school subjects with especial reference to the consideration that they were in their turn to teach those subjects to others.

Not only were the academies the direct forerunners of the normal schools: the academy movement was connected also with a great forward movement in the higher education of women. In colonial times the education which girls might receive consisted of the mere learning in some dame school to read and to recite the catechism, in addition to the training to household arts in the home, and the religious instruction given from the pulpit. The story is told of a hungry-minded little girl in Hatfield, Massachusetts, who used to go to the school-house and sit on the doorstep to hear the boys recite their lessons.¹ Such privileges were not for those of her sex.

When the town school was first set up in Dorchester, the selectmen were directed to determine from time to time whether "the maydes shall be taught with the boys or not." The decision of this question seems not to have been in the affirmative for over one hundred and fifty years — not indeed till 1784, when girls were allowed to attend the school during the summer months.²

The regulations adopted for the Hopkins Grammar School at New Haven, in 1684, provided,

"2. That noe Boyes be admitted into y^e s^d Schoole for y^e learning of English Books, but such as have been before taught to spell y^r

¹ Stow, *Mt. Holyoke Seminary*, p. 4.

² *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVII., p. 105.

letters well & begin to Read . . . & y^t all others either too young & not instructed in letters & spelling & all Girles be excluded as Improper & inconsistent wth such a Grammar Schoole as y^e law injoines, and is y^e Designe of this Settlemt.^t”¹

It does not appear whether the stigma of impropriety attached chiefly to the youth, the illiteracy, or the femininity of those excluded.

Yet even in this period there were girls who persuaded their fathers, brothers, or friends to teach them, and in various irregular ways some young women did rise to the attainment of knowledge beyond the merest rudiments. In the Revolutionary period, and for some years previous, the demand for learning was already so strong on the part of young women and girls that some sort of provision was made here and there for their instruction. Teachers in boys' schools, as in Philadelphia and Boston, formed classes out of their regular school hours for teaching girls writing, arithmetic, and the elements of English grammar.

In the *Diary of David McClure* we find a reference, under date of November 7, 1773, to a school of exceptional character at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. “The Selectmen invited me,” so the journal reads, “to take the care of a public School of Misses.” The invitation was accepted, and the account continues under date of December 1:

“Opened the School, consisting the first day of about 30 Misses. Afterwards they increased to 70 and 80; so that I was obliged to divide the day between them, & one half came in the forenoon, and the other in the Afternoon. They were from 7 to 20 years of age. Mr. Samuel Parker, afterwards settled in the ministry in Boston, was my predecessor in the school. I attended to them in reading, writing, arithmetic & geography principally. This is, I believe, the only female School, (supported by the town) in New England, it is a wise and useful institution.”²

¹ *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVIII., p. 303.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

Dr. McClure was engaged to keep the school for five months at a salary of £60 "per annum," the five months presumably constituting the annum.

The reminiscences of the Rev. William Woodbridge seem to indicate that about the year 1770 girls were taught in the public schools in and around Hartford, Connecticut. They "had no separate classes, though generally sitting on separate benches."¹

There is not much in any of the schools referred to above that could by any stretch of the term be brought within the compass of secondary education. But after the Revolution, private schools for girls, of a somewhat higher grade, began to appear. Several Yale men were prominent in the earlier stages of this movement. Two Yale students, during the interruption of college exercises by the British occupation of New Haven, in 1779-80, taught each a class of young women for the term of one quarter. One of them, the Rev. William Woodbridge, of the class of 1780, kept a young ladies' school at New Haven during his senior year, in which he taught grammar, geography, composition, and rhetoric.² Jedediah Morse had a similar school at New Haven in 1783. And Timothy Dwight, after teaching a mixed school at Northampton, made his academy at Greenfield Hill, opened in 1785, a co-educational institution.

About the year 1780 an academy for girls was established by Dr. Rush and others at Philadelphia.³ A few other institutions, either co-educational or for girls only, appeared before the close of the eighteenth century. A "female academy" was maintained at Medford from 1789 to 1796, which is said to have been the first institution of its kind in New England.⁴ Leicester Academy (1784) and Westford Academy (1793) were co-educational from the start. Bradford Academy (1803) was co-educational for many years, and then became a school for girls alone.⁵

¹ *Reminiscences of Senex*. Reproduced in the *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XXVII., pp. 273-276.

² *Id.*, p. 274.

³ *Loc. cit.*

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁵ Stow, *Mt. Holyoke Seminary*, p. 7.

In 1814, Catherine Fiske began her twenty-three-year term of service as a teacher of young women at Keene, New Hampshire. More than twenty-five hundred in all came to her, and she taught them botany, chemistry, Watts on the Mind, and other studies.¹ The Rev. Joseph Emerson's seminary for young women at Byfield and Saugus, 1818-24, received about one thousand pupils, many of them young school-teachers. It is of especial significance in this record because of the fact that Miss Zilpah P. Grant (Mrs. William B. Banister) and Miss Mary Lyon received in it some part of their academic training and a great part of that inspiration which made them apostles of education to the women of New England.²

Emma Hart (Mrs. John Willard) after teaching for a time at Westfield, Massachusetts, Middlebury, Vermont, and Waterford, New York, founded in 1821 the Troy Seminary, at Troy, New York, which commanded widespread interest. It is said that two hundred schools for girls, one-half of them in the southern states, have come into existence as a result of the influence of this one institution.³ Miss Catherine Beecher's seminary at Hartford (1822-32) also exercised a very wide influence. The writings of Miss Beecher, added to her success in the conduct of this school, contributed very greatly to the growing popularity of woman's education. The Adams Academy at Derry, New Hampshire (1823), was the first in New England to be endowed and incorporated expressly for the education of girls. Miss Grant and Miss Lyon were co-laborers in this school for four years. Then they removed to Ipswich, where the first incorporated girls' academy in Massachusetts came into existence in 1828. The Abbot Academy at Andover was incorporated the following year.⁴

Caleb Bingham and Ebenezer Bailey and many others had an honorable part in this earlier movement. Finally, in the

¹ Srow, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² *Id.*, ch. 3.

³ *Emma Willard and her pupils*, ch. 1-5.

⁴ Srow, *op. cit.*, chs. 1 and 3.

eighteen-hundred-thirties, two institutions were established that have led the two main lines of advance in the higher education of women. A new college, bristling all over with unpopular principles, was established in 1833 at Oberlin, Ohio, which courageously introduced the innovation of collegiate co-education. The labors of Mary Lyon culminated in the incorporation of the Mount Holyoke Seminary, in 1836. These institutions, as they were then, would look poor and weak in comparison with any high-grade college, whether co-educational or for women only, of the present day. But they were great in the nobility of their purposes, and in their promise of these later developments.

The beginnings which were making at this same time in the education of girls at Catholic convents are referred to in another place. That movement had some direct connection with the one we are considering here; for the Catholic competition lent new spirit to the efforts of those who were seeking to build up Protestant schools for girls. The fear of religious and political dangers which might arise if the mothers of the land should be generally educated in convent schools is often referred to in the discussions of the time.

One other consideration which greatly stimulated this movement toward a higher education for women was the fact that women were coming to be much more generally employed as teachers. There was need of a larger number who should be well enough educated to give intelligent instruction to the little ones. The normal school movement and movements in the education of women have more than once been found very closely bound together.

But perhaps even more weight should be attached to the growing conviction that education is a good thing in itself. The nineteenth century ideal of liberal culture — a culture which is proper to human beings simply because they are human — carried the day for the education of women in the face of the question, "Who shall cook our food if girls are to be taught philosophy?"

The strong religious trend of the academies has already been referred to. Generally speaking, they were not founded for the immediate theological purpose which was uppermost in the organization of the schools of the nonconformists in England. Yet the Phillips Andover Academy has had an intimate connection with the development of theological instruction in this country. Dr. Bancroft, the late principal of this academy, said of the Andover Theological Seminary: "It claims to be the first regular theological seminary distinctively and exclusively organized for the theological training of ministers of Protestant churches in the United States."¹ It seems clear that the idea not only of general religious instruction but of provision for the direct preparation of young men for the ministry was entertained by the founders of that academy from the outset; and a theological professor was employed for some years before the theological seminary was established. The seminary proper was opened in 1808. Before that time Protestant theological institutions had been established at New Brunswick, New Jersey; Xenia, Ohio; and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; and a Catholic seminary at Baltimore.

This brief survey can give only a hint of the part which the old academies have played in our national life. For a better understanding of the springs of their influence we must get some glimpses of the personal touch and tone of academy teaching, which was after all the most vital thing in the whole academy history. This portion of their story will be told, in some small part, in the chapter on Teachers and Teaching.

NOTE

In the interest of brevity, it has been necessary to make this chapter for the most part a composite picture of the remarkable class of schools with which it deals. There was enough of unity in the spirit and general movement of these multifarious institutions to make such treatment possible, yet it has been followed with a full sense of the danger it involves

¹ See BUSH, *Higher education in Mass.*, p. 236 ff.

of neglecting a thousand important differences. The materials used have been drawn from many sources, but chiefly from a large number of histories of individual schools. The titles of these histories, so far as they have come under my personal examination, are given in the general bibliography. I should be glad to be told of other publications of this sort. There are doubtless many which have not yet come to my notice.

CHAPTER XII

TEACHERS AND TEACHING

THESE old academies have been held in loving remembrance by those who enjoyed their privileges. It is pleasant to read such words of reminiscence as their old-time students have put on record, and not surprising that they sometimes lament the glory departed, when they turn their attention to the high school of these later days. Some of this feeling is doubtless due to the fact so often noted that scenes grow fairer as they pass from present experience to become only things remembered. But that is not all. Individual enterprise and the endeavors of small groups of friends and neighbors, overcoming difficulties together, played a large part in the making of those academies. A personal and romantic interest attaches to such undertakings, which is often missed in great public systems like our state systems of schools. An institution that was picturesque and interesting enough when standing alone may be thought commonplace when it appears as one among many of the same sort, all organized under uniform statutory provisions.

There were other reasons for the strong hold those academies gained upon the affection of their students. And among these must be mentioned the fact that, through some fortunate combination of circumstances, a goodly number of very able teachers were at one time and another employed in them. Some of these fine old masters should be mentioned by name in such a sketch as this.

The second principal at Phillips Exeter, Benjamin Abbot, LL.D., is perhaps the most famous of those early teachers

whose reputation rests altogether upon their academy career. He was an Andover man, and came of a long line of ancestors who had all lived upon the same Andover farm. Benjamin was nineteen years of age when he entered the newly opened Phillips Andover Academy and began the study of Latin. He was one of Principal Pearson's boys. In 1788 he was graduated from Harvard College, and was immediately called to teach at Phillips Exeter. He was virtually the head of the institution from that time on, and in 1790, was regularly elected to the principalship. His salary at the first was "one hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight-pence, lawful money," per year. It was soon increased to one hundred and fifty pounds. In 1799 it was made seven hundred dollars. He had also the free use of a dwelling house.

He was a tall man, finely proportioned, graceful in every movement, and his pupils long remembered the sweet and gentle dignity of his expression. It has been said that he knew the "science of boys." He had a long forefinger, and boys of every sort trembled when he shook it ominously before them. He punished with notable thoroughness, but the culprit was restored to respect and favor as soon as the punishment was over. Judge H. C. Whitman, of Cincinnati, recalled in after years one occasion on which he was directed to come to the library at eight o'clock in the morning, to meet Dr. Abbot on serious business. He was met at the front door with the command, "Go round to the back door, sir." Having reached the library from the rear of the house, he had an interview with the Doctor which he does not describe in detail. But at the close he was taken to the front door and bowed politely out!

The father of Lewis Cass hesitated to send his son to the academy because the boy was so wild and hard to manage. But the preceptor said, "Send him to me, and I'll see what I can do with him." The experiment was altogether successful. After it had gone on for several months, the elder Cass declared to Dr. Abbot that "if Lewis was half as afraid

of the Almighty as he is of you, I should never have any more trouble with him."

Of his scholarship a very favorable account is given. Cicero and Horace were his favorite authors. His reading of the Latin text of the orations against Catiline and the *Carmen Sæculare* was highly expressive, and produced a great impression upon his pupils. He was a student, and kept up a living acquaintance not only with new works relating to the classic literatures and languages, but with current publications in the fields of politics, theology, general literature, and education. His own contribution to the literature of classical study was not unimportant. At his request, a friend who visited Europe in 1802 looked into the methods of instruction at Eton and other prominent schools, and made him acquainted with the results of the investigation.

In 1838, Dr. Abbot withdrew from the principalship of the academy, in which he had labored with great success for the period of fifty years. A jubilee festival was held on this occasion, and many men, former pupils of the school who had become eminent in various walks in life, came together at Exeter to do honor to the great teacher. Daniel Webster presided at the celebration. Letters were read from Lewis Cass, Josiah Quincy, and Dr. Dana. Speeches were made by Edward Everett, John P. Hale, Caleb Cushing, and others whose reputation was national. Dr. Abbot was presented with a massive silver vase, Mr. Webster making the presentation address. His portrait was presented to the academy. Funds were subscribed to found an Abbot scholarship at Cambridge. It must, from all accounts have been a time when good feeling overflowed and school reminiscence was at its best. We may well doubt whether many occasions worthy to be compared with this have been known in the history of our secondary schools.

Dr. Abbot was succeeded in the principalship of the academy by the hardly less venerated Gideon Lane Soule, who had been a teacher in the institution since 1822. Dr.

Soule's jubilee was celebrated with warmth and enthusiasm in 1872.¹

The constitutions of both of the Phillips academies charged the trustees to exercise great care in the selection of suitable men for the principalship. This injunction was heeded at Andover as well as at Exeter. Here the first principal, Eliphalet Pearson, afterwards professor of Hebrew at Harvard, and still later back at Andover, in the theological seminary, was a man of great force and versatility and of commanding presence.² To the boys he was "Elephant Pearson." A pupil who had been reprimanded by him was asked how he came through the ordeal. The youngster replied, "I pinched myself to see whether I was alive." Washington is reported to have said of this master, "His eye shows him worthy not only to lead boys, but to command men."

He rendered the Commander no unimportant service; for when Judge Phillips erected his powder mill, he depended on his friend, the schoolmaster, to help him over the difficulty of a lack of saltpetre. Pearson improvised a laboratory, and by dint of hard labor, study, and experiment, found a way to supply the missing ingredient. At another time he showed skill of a different sort by constructing a bass viol, which stood for a long time in the Old South church at Andover.

Our earliest account of the routine life of Phillips Andover is contained in a letter addressed by Principal Pearson to his trustees, in 1780 :

"School begins at eight o'clock with devotional exercises; a psalm is read and sung. Then a class consisting of four scholars repeats memoriter two pages in Greek Grammar, after which a class

¹ BELL, *Phillips Exeter Academy*. CUNNINGHAM, *Familiar sketches*. Article in *N. A. Rev.* for July, 1858.

² " . . . Great Eliphalet (I can see him now, —
Big name, big frame, big voice, and beetling brow)."

HOLMES, *The School-boy*.

of thirty persons repeats a page and a half of Latin Grammar; then follows the 'Accidence tribe,' who repeat two, three, four, five and ten pages each. To this may be added three who are studying arithmetic; one is in the Rule of Three, another in Fellowship, and the third in Practice. School is closed at night by reading Dr. Doddridge's Family Expositor, accompanied by rehearsals, questions, remarks and reflections, and by the singing of a hymn and a prayer. On Monday the scholars recite what they can remember of the sermons heard on the Lord's Day previous; on Saturday the bills are presented and punishments administered."¹

The story of John Adams, who was principal of Phillips Andover from 1810 to 1833, has recently been put before the public in a very readable volume.² Dr. Adams came to the principalship at the age of thirty-eight. He was a graduate of Yale College, and had already won distinction by his success in the principalship of the academy at Plainfield, Connecticut, and of the Bacon Academy, at Colchester in the same state. About two thousand pupils had been under his instruction. He was a straightforward, simple-hearted man, who gave himself wholly to the duties of his office. He would have no ceremony of inauguration, but when the time came to enter upon his new duties, he went straight to the schoolroom alone and took up the work of the day.

It is the successor of this schoolroom, in a building erected several years after Dr. Adams began his labors at Andover, that is celebrated by Oliver Wendell Holmes in his centennial anniversary poem,

"THE SCHOOL-BOY.

"How all comes back! The upward slanting floor, —
The masters' thrones that flank the central door, —
The long, outstretching alleys that divide
The rows of desks that stand on either side, —

¹ *The story of John Adams*, pp. 47-48. Josiah Quincy's recollections of Phillips Academy in the days of Principals Pearson and Pemberton are given in EDMUND QUINCY, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, ch. 2.

² Already cited in the preceding foot-note.

The staring boys, a face to every desk,
Bright, dull, pale, blooming, common, picturesque.
Grave is the Master's look ; his forehead wears
Thick rows of wrinkles, prints of worrying cares ;
Uneasy lie the heads of all that rule,
His most of all whose kingdom is a school.
Supreme he sits ; before the awful frown
That bends his brows the boldest eye goes down ;
Not more submissive Israel heard and saw
At Sinai's foot the Giver of the Law."

We are assured that so far as it goes this is a faithful description of both the room and the master.

There were twenty-three boys in the Andover Academy when Dr. Adams became its principal. By 1817, it had increased to one hundred, and the Preceptor had three assistants. In all, Dr. Adams admitted 1,119 pupils to the academy. Nearly one-fifth of these became ministers. In 1832, his catalogue showed ninety pupils — a slight falling-off since the early twenties. Phillips Exeter, too, admitted fewer pupils during the third decade of the century than during the second, and a still smaller number in the eighteen-hundred-thirties. Dr. Adams reported that his ninety were all pursuing classical studies.

Thucydides and Herodotus were introduced into the academy early in Dr. Adams's principalship. It is said of the Doctor's scholarship that, "His attainments, if not brilliant, were substantial. What he knew he knew thoroughly, and he had an unusual faculty for communicating knowledge to the minds of others."

But he became conscious of the fact that members of his board of trustees desired a younger man in the principalship of the institution. He immediately resigned his office, and began looking for another position. There is something very pitiful in the story of his wearisome search over New England and New York for a place in which his undoubted talents should be in demand. The father of a former pupil, finally, gave him cordial encouragement to open a school at Elbridge, in New York. There for three

years he conducted an institution which afterwards grew into Monroe Academy.

In the Andover days, Dr. Adams had been associated with the professors of the Theological Seminary in projecting the American Education Society, an organization which exerted a strong influence in the building up of educational institutions in the new west. Andover was in fact one of the chief centres of the educational propaganda which the east was beginning to carry on in the west; and John Adams was quite in touch with movements in which he had long been deeply concerned, when he withdrew from the academy at Elbridge, and went on a difficult educational pilgrimage to the wilds of Illinois.

In that new country he labored for long years as a teacher and Sunday-school missionary, and there he died, in Jacksonville, in the ninety-first year of his age. His career is worthy of very honorable mention; and no part of it shows more of the real soundness of the man's character than does his ready giving-up of the dearest associations of his life when the good of his school seemed to demand the sacrifice, and his turning without bitterness to throw the whole strength of his later years into new and arduous labors.

We may get a glimpse of school life at Andover in the time of Principal Adams, from a letter of William Person, a student in the academy:

“PHILLIPS ACADEMY, June 18, [1814].

“I will relate to you the order of our studies, which, while it may amuse, may also serve to apologise for my delay. I will begin on Sunday, as that is the first day of the week. If we are absent from meeting, where our attendance is strictly required, we are noted for absence by some one of the monitors, and our names are reported to the Principal on the monitor's bill at the end of the term. We are liable to be called upon the next day to give an abstract of the sermons. For morning recitations on Monday we are allotted ten pages of Vincent's explanations of the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism. This must be com-

mitted on Sunday or Monday morning, as we have no other time. For morning recitations on Saturday about as many pages of an inestimable tract by Mason on Self-knowledge; this we learn as we have opportunity between Monday and Saturday. So much of our time and attention is given to religious and moral studies. It is not only a useful exercise for the memory, but it is an excellent method of bringing us to an acquaintance with God, with mankind and with ourselves — knowledge of the greatest possible importance. [We can hardly doubt that this little dissertation on educational values is an echo of the sayings of the preceptor.] Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays (afternoon of the latter excepted) are engaged in our common classical studies; ditto Thursday and Friday, and Saturday in the forenoon. Wednesday afternoons in every week are devoted to declamation. From this pleasing exercise no scholar is excepted. I begin to get a little acquainted with Latin. Have progressed as far as the fiftieth page in the Epitome. Write Latin from Clark's Introduction every Thursday afternoon. Also practice writing one hour every day on Wrifford's plan, under the direction of a writing master from the divinity college. For absence, tardiness, and for every detected foible our names are entered on the monitor's bill, with the charges respectively annexed, which is shown to the Preceptor at the end of the term, and we are obliged to give satisfactory reasons for our remissness in these particulars, etc. This relation will at once convince you that I have but little leisure."¹

How delightfully vague is that "etc." In the literary slang of our day, it is, indeed, a little touch.

The charges referred to may have been actual money items. At Nazareth Hall, a little earlier, there was a regular system of fines: "A farthing for talking at meals, a ha' penny for falling on the floor, 1*d.* for tearing a leaf out of a book, 2*d.* for telling a lie, 3*d.* for an oath."²

Perhaps one chief cause of the dissatisfaction with Principal Adams may be found in the very intensity of his devotion to the religious side of the school's activities. Since his time, the institution may not have been less religious in

¹ *The story of John Adams*, pp. 90-92.

² REICHEL, *Nazareth Hall*, p. 149.

reality ; but its purely religious aspect has been rather less conspicuous and its emphasis upon classical scholarship rather more marked. Mr. Osgood Johnson's short term in the principalship, from 1833 to 1837, is remembered as a time of almost religious devotion to the finest things in the classical studies.

Then followed, 1837-71, the long and notable career of Principal Samuel H. Taylor, which many men not yet old recall with the warmth of personal affection. "The spirit of Taylor," wrote the Rev. William E. Park, "calls up that of Pearson. They stand confronting each other like the two towers of a suspension bridge. . . . There was not in the soul of Taylor much of the low material of scepticism ; . . . he was emphatically a man of faith, made up of many faiths. A strong underlying belief in the possibilities of human nature ; a deep sense of that which the scholar can be made to be ; a reliance upon the power of correct habits ; a thorough, heartfelt, unaffected belief in the efficacy of classical literature as the great educating force, with a partial failure to appreciate the developing power of other studies ; a boundless confidence in his own ability to instruct, causing some neglect in his oversight of the work of his subordinates, combined to make this remarkable man."¹

The first President Dwight holds a place of no small importance in the history of American literature and of American theology. His fame, however, rests chiefly upon his contribution to American education. The greatness of his service to Yale College is universally recognized, but little stress has been laid upon his career as an academy instructor. This aspect of his many-sided activity calls for notice not only because of its importance in the development of our secondary education, but also because of its intimate connection with his later work in the college, to which reference has already been made.

The grandson of Jonathan Edwards and first cousin of

¹ *Earlier annals of Phillips Academy*, pp. 49-50. Cf. HORACE E. SCUDDER's estimate in *Harper's Magazine*, LV., pp. 565-568.

Aaron Burr might be expected to rise above the commonplace. But Timothy Dwight must have been a superhuman being, if we may judge from the eulogies of his disciples. His manners and his personal presence are described as wonderfully winning and impressive. He was an orator of indescribable persuasiveness. His memory was phenomenal; his vigor of thought so great that ordinary men found their strength gone at the mere contemplation of his achievements.

He learned the alphabet at one lesson. At the age of six, the Latin grammar was kept from him for his own good. But he got hold of a copy, and twice went through it on the sly, as Jack Horner might have eaten the spoils of his two thumbs. He might easily have been ready for college at the age of eight, but was made to wait till he was thirteen. At seventeen he was graduated and became master of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven.¹ From nineteen to twenty-five he was tutor in the college, where he gained a prodigious influence over his students. He was one of the Yale literary group, and matched Trumbull's *McFingal* with his own *Conquest of Canaan*. At different times during the disturbance caused by the Revolutionary War, when the college was scattered, students resorted to him for instruction at places remote from New Haven. He entered the Christian ministry and became chaplain of a brigade in General Putnam's division of the Continental army. His sermons and daily ministrations gained for him great influence in the army. He made the acquaintance of Washington, who honored him with courteous attentions. Later he became a member of the Massachusetts legislature, where, in addition to other services, his Yale eloquence stemmed the tide that was running against a proposed appropriation for Harvard, and secured the adoption of the bill.² Such was the man who in 1783 was settled over the parish of

¹ So in his biography; but the records of the school do not bear out the statement, and the point is still in doubt.

² Samuel Phillips was in the state senate at this time, and he and Dwight came into close relations with each other.

Greenfield, in Connecticut, and soon thereafter added to his pastorate the conduct of the Greenfield Hill Academy.

If the eulogies seem exaggerated, Timothy Dwight must at the least have been a very remarkable man to have made the exaggeration so unanimous. From one point of view, we may regard him as the noblest after-development of the Great Awakening. The finer educational impulses of that wave of religious enthusiasm came out at their best in the life of this man. He had close affinities, too, with those choice spirits of the earlier academy movement in England. One writer speaks of his "universal thirst for knowledge;" his "unbounded love of knowledge in every form." This was a true academy trait, from Milton down. In his tutor days he had given a great impetus to the study of rhetoric at the college. He plunged into Newton's *Principia*. In his Greenfield Hill Academy he carried his pupils forward in their studies with a fine disregard of all formal metes and bounds. He conducted some of them well on through the studies of a college course, and he taught them subjects not found in the ordinary college course of that day.

One of his biographers adds that, "In his school he adopted to a considerable degree, one part of the Lancasterian mode of instruction; making it extensively the duty of the older scholars, who were competent, to hear the recitations of the younger."¹ Another noteworthy characteristic of the school at Greenfield Hill was the fact, to which reference has already been made, that it was co-educational. President Dwight is justly regarded as one of the pioneers in the education of women. It was with him a matter of principle. He firmly believed, in opposition to the prevailing opinion of the time, that women had minds equal to those of men in their capacity for education. Even before he went to Greenfield, he had conducted a school for both sexes at Northampton. He had a high appreciation of feminine excellence, and it is said that he greatly loved the company of refined and intelligent women.

¹ *Memoir*, prefixed to his *Theology*, p. 17.

He gave freely of his time to the conduct of the academy, putting in his six hours daily at the school house as regularly as any teacher. At the same time he was discharging the duties of his pastorate, preparing his system of theology, exercising a wide hospitality, cultivating a large garden with his own hands, and composing in verse for recreation. Young people flocked to his academy not only from New England, but also from the middle and southern states. It was carried on through the twelve years of his Greenfield pastorate, and during that time he taught more than one thousand pupils. Professor Denison Olmsted, who had been both student and tutor under President Dwight at Yale, said years afterward that in his youth he had been acquainted with men distinguished for their literary attainments and high intelligence whose education had all been acquired in this school at Greenfield Hill.

In his poem entitled *Greenfield Hill*, Dr. Dwight gave a sketch of his school. It had been his purpose to imitate different British poets in the several portions of this poem — a design which he finally abandoned; but the influence of Goldsmith is readily seen in the following passages :

“Where yonder humbler spire salutes the eye,
It's vane slow turning in the liquid sky,
Where, in light gambols, healthy striplings sport,
Ambitious learning builds her outer court;
A grave preceptor, there, her usher stands,
And rules, without a rod, her little bands.
Some half-grown sprigs of learning grac'd his brow:
Little he knew, though much he wish'd to know,
Inchanted hung o'er Virgil's honeyed lay,
And smiled to see desipient Horace play;
Glean'd scraps of Greek; and curious, trac'd afar,
Through Pope's clear glass, the bright Mæonian star.
Yet oft his students at his wisdom star'd,
For many a student to his side repair'd,
Surpriz'd, they heard him Dilworth's knots untie,
And tell, what lands beyond the Atlantic lie.”

“Many his faults; his virtues small and few;
Some little good he did, or strove to do;

Laborious still, he taught the early mind,
And urg'd to manners meek, and thoughts refin'd;
Truth he impress'd, and every virtue prais'd;
While infant eyes, in wondering silence, gaz'd."

The south was not lacking in eminent academy instructors, one of whom, Moses Waddel, established a remarkable school at Willington, South Carolina, in 1804. Mr. Meriwether has gathered together much interesting information with reference to this institution. Architecturally, the establishment must have been a rude and diminutive prototype of the University of Virginia.

"Instead of large, luxurious dormitories for the students, were built little log huts, with chimneys of wood usually, but sometimes of brick. The students were encouraged to build these themselves. The whole formed 'a street shaded by majestic oaks, and composed entirely of log huts, varying in size from six to sixteen feet square. . . . The street was about forty yards wide and the houses ten or twelve ranged on the sides, either built by the students themselves or by architects hired by them.' The common price was five dollars for a house, 'on front row, waterproof, and easily chinked. . . . In the suburbs were several other buildings of the same kind erected by literary recluses . . . who could not endure the din of the city at play-time — at play-time, we say, for there was no din in it in study hours. At the head of the street stood the academy, differing in nothing from the other buildings but in size, and the number of its rooms.' There were two rooms in this, one for the primary pupils, while 'the larger was the recitation room of Dr. Waddel himself, the prayer-room, court-room, and general convocation room for all matters concerning the school. It was without seats and just large enough to contain one hundred and fifty boys standing erect, close pressed, and leave a circle of six feet diameter at the door for jigs and cotillons at the teachers' regular *soirées* every Monday morning.'"

Dr. Waddel conducted this academy for fifteen years, when he withdrew to become president of the University of Georgia. During this period he had among his pupils a

surprising number of young men who rose to high position in after years. He prepared John C. Calhoun and Judge A. B. Longstreet to enter the junior class at Yale; and rendered a similar service to Governor Patrick Noble, who went to the junior class at Princeton, and to George McDuffie — governor, senator, and mighty orator — whom he sent to the junior class at the University of South Carolina. William H. Crawford, who in 1824 came near to the presidency of the United States, was another of his students, and the list of eminent names might be greatly extended.

The master was strict in discipline and did not spare the rod. He insisted upon thorough work and steady attention to business. His students, some of whom had grown to manhood before they entered his school, respected him and loved him, and the memories of Willington were held by them in the highest reverence.

It would seem that Dr. Waddel was particularly mindful of individual differences among his pupils. He did not neglect to stimulate the brighter boys as well as to urge on the backward and negligent. Perhaps this is one reason why so many of fine natural abilities came to him, and why they made the most of their talents when they went out into active life.

“George Carey prepared a thousand lines of Virgil for a Monday’s recitation when at Willington. The Virgil class was too large, and its members were of such unequal grade, that the teacher announced that it would be divided on the basis of the work done by each one by the following Monday, and it was under this stimulus that Carey did his work. George McDuffie excelled this intellectual feat a year or so later with one thousand two hundred and twelve lines of Horace. He was poor, and was boarded gratuitously in the family of Mr. William Calhoun. His ability was first recognized by James Calhoun, who aided him in his attendance at the South Carolina College. He was a very hard student and is said ‘to have devoured his Latin grammar in three weeks.’”¹

¹ MERIWETHER, *Higher education in South Carolina*, ch. 2.

Something should be said of the instruction which was going on in the mean time in the old grammar schools that still survived. The *Autobiography* of the first president of the University of North Carolina, the Rev. Joseph Caldwell, D.D., gives us details of the daily routine in some New Jersey schools just after the Revolution, and shows incidentally the improvement of methods which came in from Scotland by way of Princeton College.

"I think," he says, "it was in the year 1784, when I was eleven or twelve years of age, a Latin grammar was wanted, and upon inquiry none was to be had. . . . One of the boys . . . having one on hand that was nearly worn out, gave it to me. . . . The grammar was instantly and eagerly commenced, and as eagerly prosecuted till finished. Corderius, *Selecta e Veteri*, *Selecta e Profanis*, Cæsar, Greek Grammar, Greek Testament, Mair's Introduction, Virgil, and perhaps some other books, followed in as quick succession as intent application could compass them. [This was in the grammar school of Princeton College.] Before my entering college, our family removed to Newark, where my studies were continued under Dr. McWhorter. The school at Princeton was made an object of special regulation, and sometimes of personal attention by Dr. Witherspoon [president of the college]. From this circumstance it certainly had singular advantages in comparison with other academies. The modes of instruction, and the exercises in which we were trained, were derived immediately from Scotland. Of their superior efficacy I was made sensible by the change. Dr. McWhorter was undoubtedly among the best teachers in the country, but in the class with which I was united, everything came so easily in my preparations that it was almost like sport, while the rest of the class appeared to meet as much difficulty as they could well vanquish. This difference proceeded from the different methods of teaching, and I was perfectly convinced of it at the time."¹

A foot-note is appended to this account, which adds the following information :

¹ *Autobiography of Joseph Caldwell*, p. 16.

“In Mair’s Introduction, it was the custom at Newark to write down no more than two or three of the longer sentences in good Latin, as a weekly task on Saturday. But in Princeton we were required to come prepared every forenoon, while we were in that book, to read the whole of one of those sentences in English, and then to repeat it with equal promptness in correct Latin; and our daily appointment was two or three pages. Nor was this all. For we then closed our books, and the instructor would read to us long portions of the English, and we must give the Latin of them without mistake in word or grammatical construction, from beginning to end. We were not permitted to do this tardily, for not only if any one made a mistake, but if he did not move directly forward in enunciating the translation of the sentence put to him, the next below was to pronounce it forthwith, and if successful, was to take his place. To a student trained to this vigor and promptness of thought and action, what difficulty could there be in writing down two or three sentences in corrected Latin as a weekly exercise, as was the custom at Newark? We wrote Latin versions weekly at Princeton also, but we had nothing but English sentences given, and we selected the Latin words and phraseology for ourselves. This taught us the use of words agreeably to their true classical import. Dr. Witherspoon had various methods of drilling a class. One was to run a verb, as it was called, through all the successive tenses and moods in the first person, then in the second person, the third, and so on; and to repeat the imperative, the infinitive, the gerunds, supines, and participles. This was done in both voices. Another exercise consisted in comparing an adjective, and keeping up the repetition of the degrees, through all the genders and cases in both numbers. A third method of giving us skill was to carry an adjective through the cases and numbers in company with a masculine substantive, then with a feminine, and then with a neuter. A fourth exercise was to come prepared daily with a page or two of vocables, so as to give the English for the Latin, and the Latin for the English. In another instance, he would select a Latin verb, and call upon each of us, successively, to give a compound with the meaning, till all the compounds were exhausted. A sixth exercise was made out by taking some verb, as *ago*, having various idiomatic imports according to its connection, and we were required to give examples of its idiomatic uses. This note is sub-

joined evidently not for all readers, but as a suggestion to teachers. But these are by no means all the methods of drilling to which we were called. When we first commenced any one of them, we were slow; but the quickness to which we presently attained, was evidence of the improvement consequent upon such practice. The most efficient cause of the high degree of perfection at which scholars arrive in European grammar schools and scientific institutions, is to be seen in the diversity of exercises devised and continually practiced through the whole course of education."

Dr. Caldwell, it may be added, was himself a worthy representative of that long line of educational missionaries which Princeton College was sending out to the south and west.

The post-revolutionary history of the Boston Latin School, or at least the earlier half of that history, comes in for some notice here. The school was reopened a few months after the town was evacuated by the British. But during the first generation of its later career it passed through troublous times. The discipline was harsh and ineffective and the instruction of an inferior quality. The published reminiscences of the daily life of the school about 1811, when Ralph Waldo Emerson was one of its pupils, describe a most deplorable state of affairs. The rattan was in use much of the time, its operation being interspersed with altercations between the master and the boys undergoing punishment. The master indulged in a sardonic pedagogue humor, illustrating the rules of grammar with strokes of the rod, or improvising in doggerel rhyme,

"If I see any boy catching flies,
I'll whip him till he cries,
And make the tears run out of his eyes;"

or at another time,

"If you'll be good, I'll thank you!
If not, I'll spank you!"

The boys called him *Sawney*, and he had his own plentiful vocabulary of epithets to apply to them. The cramming

and coaching for public examinations, by which this master sought to conceal the defects of his daily instruction, was of the most shameless sort.

Mr. Emerson told of the ultimate downfall of this régime:

“One day when [the master referred to] was giving orders to the boys on one side of the School there was a sudden shout on the opposite side. He turned around amazed to them, and instantly the boys on the eastern side roared aloud. I have never known any rebellion like this in the English Schools to surpass it. I think the School was immediately dismissed, and I think Mr. [—] never entered it again. I remember that on the following morning the prayer was simply these words: ‘Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.’”¹

A young man, hardly out of college, Mr. Benjamin Apthorp Gould, was then called to the mastership, and under his rule the school was soon brought to a high state of efficiency. He left his mark on the organization of studies and instruction for half a century.

Mr. Gould’s own account of the school as it was in the eighteen-hundred-twenties is one of the most explicit statements that we have of the actual school management of that time. It is well worth reproducing as a whole; but in the interest of brevity only a portion of it is presented here:

“The scholars are distributed into six separate apartments, under the care of the same number of instructors; viz. a Principal, or Head Master, a Sub-Master, and four Assistants. For admission, boys must be at least nine years old; able to read correctly and with fluency, and to write running hand; they must know all the stops, marks, and abbreviations, and have sufficient knowledge of English grammar to parse common sentences in prose. . . . The regular course of instruction lasts five years; and the School is divided into five classes according to the time of entrance.

“When a class has entered, the boys commence the Latin Grammar all together, under the eye of the Principal; where they continue until he has become in some degree acquainted with their

¹ The text of these reminiscences is given in the *Catalogue* of 1886, previously referred to.

individual characters and capacities. As they change places at each recitation, those boys will naturally rise to the upper part of the class, who are most industrious, or who learn with the greatest facility. After a time a division of from twelve to fifteen boys is taken off from the upper end of the class; after a few days more, another division is in like manner taken off; and so on until the whole class is separated into divisions of equal number, it having been found that from twelve to fifteen is the most convenient number *to drill* together.

“ . . . The class, thus arranged for the year, is distributed among the assistant teachers, a division to each. . . . As writing is not taught in the School, the younger classes for the first two or three years are dismissed at eleven o'clock, an hour before school is done, that they may attend a writing school. . . .

“ When this distribution is made, the boys continue for the year in the apartment in which they are first placed, unless some particular reason should exist for changing them; or when the higher divisions attend the Sub-Master for instruction in Geography and Mathematics, to whom these departments are committed.

“ This method of studying each branch separately, is adopted throughout the school. The same individuals do not study Latin one part of the day, and Greek the other, but each for a month at a time; and so with mathematics, except that the lesson for the evening, which is usually a written exercise, or a portion of Latin or Greek to be committed to memory, is in a different department from the studies of the day. . . .

“ At the close of every month the boys in each department undergo a rigid examination in all the studies of that month. . . . The rank of each scholar and his seat for the succeeding month are determined by this examination, unless an account of places for each recitation of the month has been kept, in which case they are determined by a general average. [The monitor and his ‘bill’ are referred to briefly.]

“ Boys commence with Adam’s Latin Grammar, in learning which they are required to commit to memory much that they do not understand at the time, as an exercise of memory, and to accustom them to labor [!].” [Some further apology is offered for this practice.] “ It takes from six to eight months for a boy to commit to memory all that is required in Adam’s Grammar; but those who do master the grammar completely, seldom find any difficulty after-

wards in committing to memory whatever may be required of them. . . . ” [Indeed, who can doubt it?]

“The examples under the rules of syntax are the first exercises in parsing. The *Liber Primus* is the first book after the grammar. No more of this is taken for a lesson than can be parsed thoroughly. This and the grammar form the studies of the first year.”

The studies of the remaining years of the course are given as follows :

Second Year.

Graeciae Historiae Epitome.	(Scansion, rules of prosody,
Viri Romae.	“capping verses,” etc.)
Phaedri Fabulae (Burman’s text, with English notes).	Valpy’s Chronology of Ancient and English History.
Cornelius Nepos.	Dana’s Latin Tutor (for com- position).
Ovid’s Metamorphoses (by Wil- lymotte).	Tooke’s Pantheon.

Third Year.

Greek Grammar.	Col. Gr. Minora, Sallust, Virgil.
Cæsar’s Commentaries.	(Written translations in Eng- lish.)
Electa ex Ovidio et Tibullo.	
Delectus Sententiarum Grae- carum.	

Fourth and Fifth Years.

Latin Tutor, continued ; fol- lowed by	ther in the latter than in the former case ?]
Valpy’s <i>Elegantiae Latinae</i> .	Greek Primitives.
Bradley’s Prosody.	Xenophon’s <i>Anabasis</i> .
Cicero’s select orations, <i>De</i> <i>Officiis</i> , <i>De Senectute</i> , and <i>De Amicitia</i> .	Maittaire’s <i>Homer</i> .
Horace <i>Exp.</i> , <i>Juvenal</i> and <i>Persius</i> <i>Expur.</i>	Greek Testament.
[Does the longer abbrevi- ation imply that the expurgation went fur-	Wytttenbach’s <i>Greek Historians</i> .
	Geography (Worcester’s).
	Arithmetic (Colburn, Lecroix).
	Geometry (Euclid).
	Trigonometry, and its uses.
	Algebra (Euler), etc. ¹

¹ Other books of which use was made were Neilson’s *Greek exercises*, Schrevelius’ *Greek Lexicon*, Hedericus, *Scapula*, Morell’s *Thesaurus*, Walker’s

Mr. Gould gives a very interesting, detailed account of the methods of instruction in Latin prose composition, from the second year on; in composition in verse, fourth and fifth years; and in arithmetic, in the same period. Pupils were required to make their own rules in arithmetic, and in both arithmetic and geometry the blackboard was freely used.

"On Saturdays the whole School comes together in the hall for declamation. . . . This is the only day in the week in which all the instructors and scholars unite in any religious or literary exercise." ¹

It is evident that in the Latin school, under Principal Gould, as in the grammar school at Princeton, under the oversight of Dr. Witherspoon, close attention was paid to the manner and the matter of instruction, and the school gave some quickening to the spiritual life of its pupils. But such was not generally the case with the classical instruction of the time. There are numerous indications that in many of the schools it was flat and unprofitable in the extreme.

NOTE

The books referred to in this chapter call for no further comment. So much light is thrown upon our educational history by well-edited "Lives" of our old-time schoolmasters and school-makers, that it is pity we have not more works available of this sort.

Classical Key, Lemprière's Classical Dictionary, Adam's Roman Antiquities, Entick's and Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary — a sufficiently extensive list. Most of these are mere names to present-day teachers.

¹ JENKS, *Historical sketch*, pp. 60-64.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MOVEMENT TOWARD PUBLIC CONTROL

WE have seen how French influence was at work, along with forces native to America, in the making of early state systems of education. The idea of an education for the people under the fostering care and general oversight of the civil authorities, was now abroad in the land, and was finding widespread application in our governmental systems. But the several schools through which our state governments carried on their educational work were not generally under the immediate management of public corporations.

The characteristic type of academy administration, as has been shown, is that carried on through a board of trustees who are not themselves teachers in the institution which they control, who have no pecuniary interest in that institution, and who fill vacancies in their own number by a process of co-optation. This form of organization is equally characteristic of the American college, from the time that a distinctly American type of college comes into view.

With all of its obvious advantages, this system provides no means by which the public, in case of prevalent dissatisfaction with the management of an institution, can readily effect changes in accordance with its desires. This may or may not be regarded as a disadvantage of the system, according to the point of view of the one passing judgment upon it. The historical fact which concerns us here is that a great wave of objection to this system swept over our country, which resulted in the formation of educational institutions under direct public control. The earlier product of this movement was the state university. A later

product was the public high school. We shall get a better understanding of the movement as a whole if we consider first that aspect of it out of which came our state universities.

The fact has already been noted that, about the time of the Revolution, there was growing up a widespread distrust of the colleges as then conducted. This took many forms, and was shared by men of the most diverse political and religious convictions. But it all came back virtually to this: That no one of the colleges fully answered the public need as regards higher education. Every one of them was the college of a faction, of a section, or of a sect, within the commonwealth, and failed therefore to be a college of the commonwealth in its entirety. The democratic spirit, which had been rising, very slowly, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the interest in civic affairs, which increased rapidly as the Revolution drew on, both tended to accentuate this feeling of distrust. It was much more pronounced in the case of some colleges than in that of others, but none of them seems to have escaped it altogether.

As this feeling rose to self-consciousness, there appeared two ways in which it might find adequate expression; two ways in which colleges might be made to answer the common need in this matter of higher education: First, the commonwealth might, through the agencies of government, assume and exercise the right of visitation in the existing institutions, or even, if need be, compel those colleges to submit to changes in their charters which should render them more serviceable to society in its organic wholeness and unity; or secondly, it might ignore the existing colleges, regarding their case as hopeless, and proceed to erect new institutions so organized and administered as to meet the highest demands of public responsibility. The legal status of educational corporations was not then so well defined as now; and the constitution of the United States, with its provision safeguarding the obligation of contracts, was not yet in existence. So it is not strange that the

first of these two courses seemed much more practicable than the other. We shall see that it was first tried, in a very thorough manner; and not till it had signally failed, did the movement for the establishment of state universities acquire any sort of headway.

The question of public control is to be kept separate from that of public support. Yet the two are intimately connected. Institutions of learning have more than once been led to accept the larger responsibility, through the difficulty of maintenance as representatives of a party or faction.

Even before the Revolution, the two possible courses of procedure had both been distinctly considered, and attempts had been made to carry both into execution, but with no sort of success in either case. These colonial projects are worthy of consideration, for they help us to understand the true state of the case when the newly liberated states began to deal with this problem.

Efforts were made at different times to secure for the colonial governments of Massachusetts and New Jersey, or for the English crown, a larger participation in the management of Harvard and Princeton Colleges. But the most notable attempt in colonial times to subject an educational close corporation to direct governmental control, was made in Connecticut. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Yale College was under the headship of President Clap, a man of marked ability, but personally unpopular. The conflict between the "New Lights" and the "Old Lights" was then raging in Connecticut. Yale College was a stronghold of the earlier orthodoxy, though it gradually drew nearer to the New Light party. It seems, under President Clap's leadership, to have gained to a large extent the ill-will of both sides in the controversy. Partly in consequence of this hostility, the annual donations to the college from the colonial treasury were discontinued after 1754. It is said that from 1758 to 1763, "four distinct appeals were made to the legislature, through the fellows, the graduates and the students of the College," to inquire into and rectify

abuses in the management of the institution. One act of the college authorities was represented as being, "an infringement on the order and rights of the regular churches, . . . and a daring affront to legislative power."¹ Finally the trouble culminated in a formidable memorial, presented to the legislature in 1763.

In this it was declared that the general assembly was the founder of the college, inasmuch as it had granted the original charter, in 1701; and in that charter had bestowed a grant of about sixty pounds sterling, besides making subsequent donations in money and lands. The general assembly sitting in the year 1763, it was asserted, possessed the right of visitation under the common law, as successor to the founder; and there was need that this right be exercised in the then present emergency, to preserve the good order of the college in several respects, and particularly as regards orthodoxy in religion.

President Clap himself undertook the reply to this memorial. He declared that the legislature had the same authority over the college as over other persons and estates in the colony; but that it did not possess the right of visitation, because the act of incorporation and the gift of public funds which accompanied it did not found the institution. It had existed in fact before it possessed a charter, and donations of books, money, and land had already been made to it. The founders were those ministers who had made a large and formal donation of books for its establishment. This fact was acknowledged in the act of 1701, which recognized the institution as already founded, and merely gave the trustees legal authorization to proceed with the erection of the school. Besides, the preamble of the charter of 1745 expressly declared that the first trustees had founded the school. It was shown that it would be detrimental to the orderly management of the college if some body of visitors, other than the trustees, were set up, to whom any aggrieved person might appeal from a decision of the ordinary college

¹ CLEWS, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

authorities. And as regards orthodoxy, it was urged that the president and fellows had taken better precautions than might be expected continuously from any other body of visitors which the legislature might constitute.¹

This reply was backed up with ample citations from the most eminent legal authorities. It is evident that it commanded the respect of thoughtful men in the colony, as it has of competent jurists of later times. It put an end to the efforts to secure legislative interference in the affairs of the college. And it may be added that substantially the same ground as that taken by President Clap was taken by the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College case, half a century later.

The other possible way to public control, that of founding new institutions directly responsible to the government, was clearly set forth before the colonies became independent, and a strong effort was made to have this plan put on its trial. It happened in connection with the founding of King's College, in New York. The funds first secured for the establishment of this institution were raised under the authority of the colonial legislature. When the time came to begin the actual organization of the college, it was proposed that it be established by royal charter. The corporation of Trinity Church offered to bestow on the institution a tract of land, attaching certain ecclesiastical conditions to the gift. It was proposed that this gift be accepted and the conditions be embodied in the charter. The plan aroused violent opposition, which was led by William Livingston.

This gentleman was a prominent member of the well-known New York family of that name, the proprietors of the Livingston Manor. He had been educated at Yale College. It is said that, a few years previous to the time we are considering, there were in the whole province of New York only ten persons, not in holy orders, who had received

¹ The text of this argument has, I believe, never been printed. I have followed President Clap's own summary of it as given in his *Annals or history of Yale College*.

a collegiate education ; and four of these were the brothers Livingston. William Livingston was an able lawyer, a moderate Presbyterian, an uncompromising patriot. Like many American Presbyterians of his time, he was strenuously opposed to any union of church and state. He became one of the most vigorous opponents of the movement for the establishment of an American episcopate. His aristocratic antecedents did not prevent him from developing at an early period a strongly democratic spirit. He removed to New Jersey, and when that colony became a state, he was elected its first governor under the new order of things. By repeated election he was continued in this office up to the time of his death, in 1790.

V I have spoken thus particularly of Governor Livingston for the reason that the earliest distinct American utterance in favor of state control of the higher education which I have been able to find, appears in some of his writings. At the time when the first steps were taken toward securing a royal charter for King's College, Mr. Livingston was editing *The Independent Reflector* in the city of New York. This was a four-page folio, devoted to the discussion of various questions of public interest. It served as a sort of periodical pamphlet, such as the eighteenth century abounded in. The greater part of the weekly issue of this sheet seems to have been written by Livingston himself, though some articles were undoubtedly contributed by various members of his coterie. The paper continued for only fifty-two numbers, in 1752-53. It treated of many topics, but is especially noteworthy because of what it had to say on the subject of the new college.

This topic was first taken up in the seventeenth number of the paper. "The true Use of Education," says the writer, "is to qualify Men for the different Employments of Life, to which it may please God to call them. 'Tis to improve their Hearts and Understandings, to infuse a public Spirit and Love of their Country ; to inspire them with the Principles of Honor and Probity ; with a fervent Zeal for Liberty,

and a diffusive Benevolence for Mankind; and in a Word, to make them more extensively serviceable to the Commonwealth."

He insists that the kind of education that is given will inevitably affect the common weal: that no sort of higher education can possibly be a merely private concern. This is one of the most striking features of his argument. Again and again, in later issues, he comes back to this central thought, and hammers it in with all his might.

In the eighteenth number, he proceeds "to offer a few Arguments, . . . to evince the Necessity and Importance of constituting *our* College upon a Basis the most catholic, generous and free." "The extensive Influence of such a Seminary," he says, "I have already shewn in my last Paper. And have we not reason to fear the worst Effects of it, where none but the Principles of one Persuasion are taught, and all others depressed and discountenanced?" Such an institution he calls a "Party-College." A college erected in the interest of any party is a menace to public interests, and most of all a college erected in the interest of any ecclesiastical body.

In the nineteenth number, he continues the discussion of the dangers attendant upon the incorporation of the college by royal charter. In the twentieth he proposes his alternative for this procedure. "I would first establish it as a Truth," says Mr. Livingston, "that Societies have an indisputable Right to direct the Education of their youthful Members." This sounds strangely like an utterance of La Chalotais in the *Essai d'éducation nationale*, ten years later than this. But the idea was already abroad in France; and it is possible that Mr. Livingston, who read French, may have been familiar with the advanced French thought of the time upon this subject. He continues, "If . . . it belongs to any to inspect the Education of Youth, it is the proper Business of the Public, with whose Happiness their future Conduct in Life is inseparably connected, and by whose Laws their relative Actions will be governed. . . . Let it [the

college] not be made the Portion of a Party, or private Set of Men, but let it merit the Protection of the Public." Those who ask to be given direction of the higher education of the commonwealth, he adds, "ask no less considerable a Boon, than absolute universal Dominion."

"Instead of a Charter," he goes on to say, "I would propose, that the College be founded and incorporated by Act of Assembly, and that not only because it ought to be under the Inspection of the civil Authority ; but also, because such a Constitution will be more permanent, better endowed, less liable to Abuse, and more capable of answering its true End." The twenty-first number of the *Independent Reflector* is perhaps the most important of all, for in this a complete plan for the organization of a college under public control is offered in outline. In the interest of brevity, only portions of two or three of the eleven sections under which this plan is presented, will be considered here.

It is proposed :

"FIRST: That all the Trustees be nominated, appointed, and incorporated by the Act [of Assembly], and that whenever an Avoidance among them shall happen, the same be reported by the Corporation to the next Sessions of Assembly, and such Vacancy be supplied by Legislative Act. That they hold their Offices only at the good Pleasure of the Governor, Council and General Assembly. And that no Person of any Protestant Denomination be, on Account of his religious Persuasion, disqualified for sustaining any Office in the College."

"THE FIFTH Article I propose is, that no religious Profession in particular be established in the College ; . . .

"To this most important Head, I should think proper to subjoin,

"SIXTHLY : That the whole College be every Morning and Evening convened to attend public Prayers, to be performed by the President, or in his Absence, by either of the Fellows ; and that such Forms be prescribed and adhered to as all Protestants can freely join in."

We see that this radical innovator did not go so far in the way of a separation between education and religion, as cur-

rent practice had gone long before the close of the nineteenth century. But his early advocacy of non-sectarian religious instruction for an educational institution is worthy of remembrance. By way of illustration, he even devoted one number of his paper to a form of prayer which he had devised for this purpose, composed almost wholly of passages from the Bible.

This remarkable series of papers culminated, in the twenty-second number, in an impassioned and declamatory appeal to the colonists to prevent the advocates of the charter college from accomplishing their purpose. By this time a great war of disputation had been stirred up. The taverns, the coffee-houses, and the newspapers, were alive with the subject. The objectors were unsuccessful in the attempt to prevent the issuance of the charter. But after the college had been incorporated, they brought in a bill in the legislature, providing for the establishment of a rival institution, on the lines proposed in the *Independent Reflector*. But little is known of the fortunes of this bill; but the upshot of the whole affair was a compromise, under which only half of the money which had been raised by lotteries for a college went to the chartered institution, the remainder being used to build a pest house and a jail. Mr. Livingston raised his voice in jubilation over this result.

So the two obvious methods of making the higher education a truly public education, had both been seriously proposed before the Revolution, but neither one of the two had as yet been fairly tried. Independence brought with it momentous changes, which were to have great influence in the shaping of our educational systems. When the war was over, the new states found themselves in possession of a great national domain in the new northwest. Historians have shown what a mighty influence this territory exercised in awakening the sense of nationality, and how important were its later bearings upon our political development. Its effects upon our educational development were hardly less marked. Here was a clear field for educational experiment.

Here were lands that could be set apart for educational purposes — an arrangement which tended to encourage the best sort of immigration. It is hardly surprising that under these circumstances the northwest became a favorite field for the building up of early state universities.

We are now concerned, however, with those uncertain and painful efforts, in the states along the Atlantic, to make over the existing colleges into some sort of institution which should answer to the rising educational consciousness of our people. It is, perhaps, not generally known how many attempts were made in the legislatures of the new-born states to render the old colleges more directly responsible and ministrant to the whole commonwealth. Nine colleges had been incorporated and had entered upon a course of college instruction within the colonial period. Of these, at least six were more or less directly affected by this movement.

The charter of the College of Philadelphia was revoked in 1779, and in its place was set up the University of Pennsylvania, under public control. Ten years later, the older corporation was revived, and the two institutions existed in some fashion for two years, side by side. Then a compromise was reached, the two were merged into one under the title of the University of Pennsylvania, and this was placed under the control of a close corporation.

Yale College, after a long contest, yielded to public opinion, reinforced by its extreme need of financial aid. In 1792, eight of the chief officers of state were admitted, *ex officio*, to membership in its board of trustees; and a considerable grant was then received from the state legislature.

King's College, in New York, was greatly in disfavor while the Revolution was in progress, and its Tory president, Dr. Cooper, was obliged to flee for his life. It has been shown that, after the war was over, a general state system of education was legislated into existence, with the college, now called Columbia, at its head. But serious difficulties were met with in the attempt to make the managing board

of the college identical with the managing board of a state system of schools. Here again a compromise was reached, in 1787, under which public control was retained in the supervisory body, but the management of the college was committed to a self-perpetuating board of trustees.

Harvard College was disturbed in 1812 by legislation affecting its Board of Overseers, which was forced upon the institution without regard to the protest of the Corporation. Two years later, however, the obnoxious act was repealed.

But the most notable case of this sort, the case in which the movement reached its culmination and also its judicial determination, arose in connection with Dartmouth College, in the second decade of the century. In consequence of a long-drawn college controversy, in which the political parties within the state were ranged on opposite sides, the legislature of New Hampshire passed an act, June 27, 1816, declaring that "the college of the state may, in the opinion of the legislature, be rendered more extensively useful," and enacting accordingly "that the corporation, heretofore called and known by the name of the Trustees of Dartmouth College, shall ever hereafter be called and known by the name of the Trustees of Dartmouth University." This university was to be managed by a self-perpetuating board of trustees, over which there was placed a board of overseers consisting of certain civil officers *ex officio*, and other members appointed by the governor, and possessing full visitatorial rights, and power of veto on the acts of the trustees.

The board of trustees of the college maintained that the legislature had no power of interference in their affairs, and carried the matter into the courts. The supreme court of the state of New Hampshire decided against the college. The case was then carried into the supreme court of the United States. Daniel Webster was of the counsel for the college, and his argument in this case added greatly to his fame as a constitutional lawyer. The opinion of the court was pronounced in February, 1819, by Chief Justice Marshall. The finding of the New Hampshire court was re-

versed. The decision was summarized in the following terms :

"The charter granted by the British crown to the trustees of Dartmouth College, in New Hampshire, in the year 1769, is a contract within the meaning of that clause of the constitution of the United States (Art. 1, s. 10) which declares that no state shall make any law impairing the obligation of contracts. The charter was not dissolved by the Revolution.

"An act of the State of New Hampshire altering the charter without the consent of the corporation in a material respect is an act impairing the obligation of the charter, and is unconstitutional and void.

"Under its charter Dartmouth College was a private and not a public corporation. That a corporation is established for purposes of general charity, or for education generally, does not, *per se*, make it a public corporation, liable to the control of the legislature."¹

It would be hard to overestimate the significance of this decision. Chancellor Kent said of it that it "did more than any other single act proceeding from the authority of the United States to throw an impregnable barrier around all rights and franchises derived from the grant of government, and to give solidity and inviolability to the literary, charitable, religious, and commercial institutions of our country."

It was, perhaps, an unmixed advantage to commercial establishments to have it settled once for all that a self-perpetuating, chartered institution is a private and not a public corporation, and so beyond the reach of governmental interference; but when it came to educational establishments, this decision cut both ways. The conviction to which William Livingston had given utterance many years before—that an institution of higher education could not possibly be a private concern as regards its operation and influence—had come abroad and gained general currency. That an institution which embodied so momentous a public interest should be beyond the reach of public control

¹ The Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward, 4 Wheaton 514.

seemed to many a dangerous state of affairs. The decision in the Dartmouth College case put an end to efforts directed toward governmental regulation of educational close corporations; but in so doing it turned the full force of this movement into that other possible course of governmental agency — namely, the establishment and maintenance of colleges and universities under full state control.

An institution not under public control may be very susceptible to public influences; and it would be hard to find such an institution so comfortably endowed, so irresponsible in spirit, and so firmly fixed in its own traditions, as to be wholly beyond the reach of public opinion. Our early colleges felt the movements going on about them, to which, in truth, they had largely contributed; and little by little they introduced changes which brought them nearer to the people whom they served. In this way, the most of them warded off the danger which threatened them, of rival establishments founded and managed by the state. They widened their range of studies; and they ceased to be in any special sense schools for the training of ministers, becoming instead general institutions of the higher learning.

But the demand for universities under state control was more profound and far-reaching than was commonly supposed. We have seen that the University of Pennsylvania, and Columbia and Dartmouth Colleges, had each its brief term of service as a regular state institution. Other state universities soon began to take permanent shape. The movement was nearly simultaneous in the west and south. The influence of the south was dominant in the earlier days and that of the west at a later period.

North Carolina, following Pennsylvania, included in its state constitution of 1776 the provision that, "All useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." In accordance with this provision, the state legislature erected a university in 1789, which began giving instruction in 1795. This institution, however, did not come under direct state control till 1821. South Caro-

lina College, an institution under full state control, was established by legislative act in 1801, and opened in 1805. The long and varied efforts of Thomas Jefferson to secure the establishment of a university under public control in the Old Dominion, were crowned with success in 1819, the year in which the decision in the Dartmouth College case was handed down by the Supreme Court of the United States. This was an event of capital importance. Repeated efforts had been made to transform William and Mary College into an institution which might fairly serve as the crowning member of a state system of education. But this was found at last to be impracticable, chiefly because of the fixed ecclesiastical character of the old foundation.

The fact that the University of Virginia held the chief place in a well-thought-out plan of education, which was vitally connected with a democratic scheme of society, and the further fact that it was the cherished project of Thomas Jefferson, compelled the serious attention of the builders of new commonwealths. And the intrinsic character of the new institution was such that its establishment marked an epoch in our educational development.

Important beginnings were making meanwhile in the new states of the Old Northwest, which culminated in the establishment of a strong state university in Michigan.¹ Favorable circumstances affecting its external administration, combined with excellences of internal management and instruction, gave to this institution a position of leadership among our state universities during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The states that were coming into being all through the century, with few exceptions, established such universities. Their erection soon came to be a matter of course in the new western commonwealths, the beginnings sometimes being made before the territorial status was outgrown.

We may note by the way how differently the Dartmouth College case has affected the history of our commercial and

¹ Some of these beginnings are noted in chapter X.

industrial corporations. Since that decision was reached, the granting of governmental subsidies to privately managed educational institutions has fallen more and more into disfavor, as has been shown, and the movement toward public control of such institutions has gained a tremendous volume and headway. But, curiously enough, the relation of government to industry and commerce has not followed a parallel course. Our transportation, in particular, a public service of incalculable importance, has remained under the control of private corporations, and these have received municipal and legislative grants of enormous value. It may be, however, that the movement toward public control of such corporations has only lagged behind that affecting educational institutions. The current agitation in favor of "public ownership of public utilities" would seem to indicate something of this sort. But at the present time the relation of government to transportation in this country is broadly analogous to the relation of government to the institutions of education a century ago.

Even as regards educational institutions, the movement has been very slow and unequal, and the earlier policy has been only partially reversed. In the case of our colleges, the demand for public control was doubtless accentuated by ecclesiastical considerations; or more exactly by the rapid spread of the doctrine of religious freedom. Throughout the earlier part of this movement, the academies escaped the criticism which the colleges had to encounter. Their form of organization was, in fact, much the same as that of the colleges. But it was not so much a form of organization which was under criticism, at the first, as it was specific defects and abuses in the colleges. In these particulars, the academies were contrasted with the colleges, to the advantage of the lower institutions. The academies were in high favor at the very time that the colleges were under fire.

But some had held from the beginning that the great obstacle in the way of an immediate righting of the abuses

complained of was the private and inaccessible character of the college corporations. The Dartmouth College case deepened this conviction, and adverse criticism soon extended to the similar corporations of the academies. The demand for public education under public control was a rising tide and in time it affected institutions of every rank and grade. It was on this rising tide that new systems of elementary education came into being, and with them, borne on the same sweep of public opinion, came a new type of secondary school — the public high school.

Up to the nineteenth century, elementary education had been even more fragmentary and inadequate in this country than education of a higher grade. There was, however, nothing unique in this state of affairs. Effective systems of elementary instruction in Europe are largely the growth of the past hundred years. In England the nineteenth century movement was got under way through the agency of voluntary societies organized for the conduct and maintenance of schools; for thirty years, in the second and third quarters of the century, these societies were doing the work of elementary education in England with the aid of government subsidies; and this arrangement still continues, in full force, only supplemented during the past generation with schools under public control, which are designed merely to fill gaps in the facilities provided under the earlier system.

The English societies were an outcome of the monitorial movement, as promoted by Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Bell. The same influence was felt at an early day in this country, and similar societies were organized here for the building up of schools. The Free School Society, organized at New York in 1805, took up and extended an educational campaign which had been begun by other societies similarly constituted. It was incorporated and subsidized by the New York legislature. In 1826 the name was changed to the Public School Society; and under this title the organization continued to direct and control the greater part of the elementary education of this large and growing city,

till religious controversy led to the transfer of the schools to a public board of education, in 1842.¹

Other cities had somewhat similar societies, which sustained various relations to popular education. In Boston, the system of schools, as remodelled in 1789, included writing schools, English grammar schools, and the Latin school; but there was no public provision for primary schools, in which little children might make their earliest scholastic beginnings. Schools of this lowest grade were in existence, but all under private management. This condition remained unchanged till the year 1818, when for the first time primary schools were made a part of the Boston public school system.²

The gradual building up of public systems of elementary schools tended directly to the bringing in of high schools; for there came to be a large number of children, not intended for college and for professional life, who nevertheless had gone through a course of elementary schooling in public schools and were ready to go further if the opportunity were offered. The gradual increase of wealth in our larger towns and cities tended to the increase of such a class as this. The common people of these towns and cities were becoming desirous of more extended education; and the commercial activities of these centres called for a different kind of training from that offered by the schools designed to prepare for college.

The academies were ready to respond to this demand, but another objection to the academies appeared. The public schools had been gradually made free schools, the rate-bills for tuition having been little by little discontinued. The academies generally charged small tuition fees, and but few of them were largely enough endowed to get on well without such charges.³ We begin now to find a demand growing

¹ BOESE, *Public education in the city of New York*. BOURNE, *History of the Public School Society*.

² WIGHTMAN, *Annals of the Boston primary school committee*, passim.

³ The effort had been made to offer free instruction in some of the earlier academies. At Phillips Exeter, the first tuition fee, of only two dollars a year, was imposed in 1809. CUNNINGHAM, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

up for schools higher in grade than the elementary schools, which should be as accessible to the poor as to the rich. The public schools were now regarded as the schools of the people, in contrast with the academies which were represented as schools for the few who were able to pay.

So the movement toward the public control of institutions of learning was mixed in with the various other movements which were making in this country a prosperous and aggressive democracy; and new institutions not a few were coming out of it all. Not the least significant of these was the public high school.

NOTE.

The charters of the colonial colleges are given in MISS CLEWS' valuable compilation. Files of the *Independent Reflector* are not commonly found, even in the best libraries. There is one in the Lenox Library, and, another, nearly complete, in the State Library of New York, which I have used in preparing this chapter.

On the Dartmouth College case, see

SHIRLEY, JOHN M., *The Dartmouth College causes and the Supreme Court of the United States*. St. Louis: G. I. Jones and Company, 1879, pp. 469.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FIRST HIGH SCHOOLS

THE English High School of Boston is regarded as the pioneer of the high school movement in this country. In 1818 Boston had extended its public school system downward to include the primary schools. In 1820 steps were taken looking to an extension of the system upward, in an institution planned to meet the needs of those advanced pupils who were not destined for the classical course of the Latin School. On the forty-fifth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, the school committee having under consideration the question of appointments and salaries in the Latin School for the ensuing year, Mr. S. A. Wells introduced a number of resolutions relating, in part, to the establishment of an "English Classical School."¹ This part of the resolutions was referred to a sub-committee, which reported October 26 of the same year. On that date the school committee voted "that it is expedient to establish an English Classical School in the Town of Boston." At a subsequent meeting the selectmen of the town were requested to call a town meeting for the consideration of the sub-committee's report as amended by the school committee. A town meeting was accordingly held January 15, 1821, at which the plan outlined in the report was debated, and finally adopted with only three dissenting votes.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. George H. Martin, Supervisor of Public Schools, Boston, and author of *The evolution of the Massachusetts public school system*, for the opportunity of using the MS. records of the Boston school committee in preparing this account.

The Boston *Advertiser*¹ of January 13, 1821, had sounded a note of caution. "A town meeting," it said, "is to be holden on Monday next, to act, among other things, on the proposition for establishing what is called an *English Classical School*. We trust that a measure of this sort will not be adopted without due consideration. It ought to be considered what will be the effect of it on the existing English Grammar Schools, and also on the Latin Grammar School. Will not its effect be to degrade the former institutions, by transferring the more liberal studies now pursued in them, and for which they are, or ought to be, fully competent, to a single school more favored by the public? And is it not the intention of some of the friends of the new school to withdraw a portion of the patronage which is now bestowed on the Latin School?" But the nearly unanimous vote to establish the school seems to show that the consideration of these doubts resulted in putting them aside.

The same town meeting passed a second vote, "That the School Committee from year to year be, and hereby are, instructed to revise the course of studies proposed in the report this day made and accepted for the new school, and adopt such measures as experience shall dictate, and the object of its establishment require."

The sub-committee's report, presumably as amended and presented to the town meeting, stands as follows on the records of the school committee :

"REPORT.

"Though the present system of public education, and the munificence with which it is supported, are highly beneficial and honorable to the Town ; yet in the opinion of the Committee, it is susceptible of a greater degree of perfection and usefulness, without materially augmenting the weight of the public burdens. Till recently, our system occupied a middle station : it neither commenced

¹ Then edited by Nathan Hale, the father of Edward Everett Hale.

with the rudiments of Education, nor extended to the higher branches of knowledge. This system was supported by the Town at a very great expense, and to be admitted to its advantages, certain preliminary qualifications were required at individual cost, which have the effect of excluding many children of the poor and unfortunate classes of the community from the benefits of a public education. The Town saw and felt this inconsistency in the plan, and have removed the defect by providing Schools in which the children of the poor can be fitted for admission into the public seminaries.

“The present system, in the opinion of the Committee, requires still farther amendment. The studies that are pursued at the English grammar schools are merely elementary, and more time than is necessary is devoted to their acquisition. A scholar is admitted at seven, and is dismissed at fourteen years of age; thus, seven years are expended in the acquisition of a degree of knowledge, which with ordinary diligence and a common capacity, may be easily and perfectly acquired in five. If then, a boy remain the usual term, a large portion of the time will have been idly or uselessly expended, as he may have learned all that he may have been taught long before its expiration. This loss of time occurs at that interesting and critical period of life, when the habits and inclinations are forming by which the future character will be fixed and determined. This evil, therefore, should be removed, by enlarging the present system, not merely that the time now lost may be saved, but that those early habits of industry and application may be acquired, which are so essential in leading to a future life of virtue and usefulness.

“Nor are these the only existing evils. The mode of education now adopted, and the branches of knowledge that are taught at our English grammar schools, are not sufficiently extensive nor otherwise calculated to bring the powers of the mind into operation nor to qualify a youth to fill usefully and respectably many of those stations, both public and private, in which he may be placed. A parent who wishes to give a child an education that shall fit him for active life, and shall serve as a foundation for eminence in his profession, whether Mercantile or Mechanical, is under the necessity of giving him a different education from any which our public schools can now furnish. Hence, many children are separated

from their parents and sent to private academies in this vicinity, to acquire that instruction which cannot be obtained at the public seminaries. Thus, many parents, who contribute largely to the support of these institutions, are subjected to heavy expense for the same object, in other towns.

"The Committee, for these and many other weighty considerations that might be offered, and in order to render the present system of public education more nearly perfect, are of the opinion that an additional School is required. They therefore, recommend the founding of a seminary which shall be called the English Classical School, and submit the following as a general outline of a plan for its organization and of the course of studies to be pursued.

"1st. That the term of time for pursuing the course of studies proposed, be three years.

"2ndly. That the School be divided into three classes, and one year be assigned to the studies of each class.

"3rdly. That the age of admission be not less than twelve years.

"4thly. That the School be for Boys exclusively.

"5thly. That candidates for admission be proposed on a given day annually; but scholars with suitable qualifications may be admitted at any intermediate time to an advanced standing.

"6thly. That candidates for admission shall be subject to a strict examination, in such manner as the School Committee may direct, to ascertain their qualifications according to these rules.

"7thly. That it be required of every candidate, to qualify him for admission, that he be well acquainted with reading, writing, English grammar in all its branches, and arithmetic as far as simple proportion.

"8thly. That it be required of the Masters and Ushers, as a necessary qualification, that they shall have been regularly educated at some University.

"The Studies of the First Class to be as follows:

Composition.

Reading from the most approved authors.

Exercises in Criticism; comprising critical analyses of the language, grammar, and style

of the best English authors, their errors & beauties.

Declamation.

Geography.

Arithmetic continued.

"The Studies of the Second Class."

Composition.	[continued]	Geometry.
Reading.		Plane Trigonometry; and its ap- plication to mensuration of Heights and Distances.
Exercises in Criticism.		Navigation.
Declamation.		Surveying.
Algebra :		Mensuration of Superficies & Solids.
Ancient and Modern History and Chronology.		Forensic Discussions.
Logic.		

"The Studies of the Third Class."

Composition ;	} continued	Natural Philosophy,
Exercises in		including Astronomy ;
Criticism ;		Moral and Political
Declamation ;		Philosophy."
Mathematics ;		
Logic ;		
History ; particu- larly that of the United States ;		

A financial statement follows, in which it is proposed that four thousand dollars yearly be spent on the school, to support a master, sub-master, and two ushers. The report then closes with general considerations relating to the usefulness of public schools.

In accordance with this plan, the school opened in May, 1821, with Mr. George Barrell Emerson as principal master, and a membership of over one hundred pupils. And so began the establishment of city high schools in this country.

It will be observed that the term *high school* does not appear in the early record of this Boston institution; and it may not be amiss to devote a little space here to a consideration of the titles of our early schools of this type. Sometimes such a school was known as the *free academy*. This hints at a close connection in thought between the high

school and its immediate predecessor, the academy. The New York City College was known as the New York Free Academy in its earlier days. The high school at Albany bore a similar title till 1873. The term *free*, in this case, seems to refer to gratuity of instruction.¹ The memorial presented to the state legislature by the board of education of the City of New York, in 1847, relative to the establishment of a Free Academy, states that "one object of the proposed free institution is to create an additional interest in, and more completely popularize the Common Schools. It is believed that they will be regarded with additional favor, and attended with increased satisfaction when the pupils and their parents feel that the children who have received their primary education in these schools can be admitted to all the benefits and advantages furnished by the best endowed college in the state without any expense whatever."²

Sometimes the term *union school* was used rather loosely to denote the highest department of a graded school system. This recalls at once the fact that our high schools are an upward extension of the public graded schools, and that "grading" was commonly made possible in the early days by a union of school districts.. Strictly speaking, the graded school, formed in this way, constituted in its entirety the "union school." But the high school department was the most conspicuous division in such a school, and so often monopolized the appellation which belonged of right to the system as a whole.³

¹ Yet the Norwich (Connecticut) Free Academy, which retains this designation, requires the payment of a small fee for incidentals. It is not an ordinary high school, however, being a chartered and endowed institution. Dr. Steiner says of this school that it, "better than almost any other in the State, combines the good features of the old academy with those of the new high school." *The history of education in Connecticut*, p. 53. The early history of this school will be noted further on in this chapter.

² Quoted by BOESE, *Public education in the city of New York*, p. 75.

³ There is an interesting discussion of the term, and the school for which it stands, in the report of Ira Mayhew, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Michigan, for the year 1857, pp. 47-49. See also BARNEY, *Report on the American system of graded free schools*.

It would appear that the term *high school* was used to some extent in Pennsylvania, even in colonial times. Mr. Wickersham applies it to a school established at Germantown in 1761, and carried on successfully for some years thereafter; and to another opened in 1764 by the Schwenckfelders, in Berks County, later removed to Montgomery County, and maintained with a good degree of success for two generations.¹ The latter school was started with a subscription aggregating £600, a part of which fund was passed on to the public schools when a state system was finally established in Pennsylvania. Latin, Greek, and the higher mathematics were taught in its classes.

It is evident that these Pennsylvania schools were not high schools of the modern type, and it is not likely that they exercised any influence upon the later use of the designation applied to them. If they were called "high schools" by their founders, it is probable that the name was derived from the German *Hochschule*, a term used somewhat indefinitely to designate a school of advanced grade.

The Boston school committee, when it came to provide a place of abode for the proposed English high school, voted, "That the third story of the new School-house in Derne Street, be appropriated for the present to the use of the English Classical School." Three years later, June 23, 1824, "it was *Voted* that the schoolhouse which the city is now building on Pinckney Street be appropriated to the use and accommodation of the *English High School*:—that the Grammar School, on Derne Street, be hereafter called and known by the name of the *Bowdoin School*: and that the vote of 11th May, giving that name to the house on Pinckney St. be repealed."

We do not know how the "English Classical School" came to be the "English High School." The latter title appears for the first time on the records of the school committee in the resolution quoted above. It is not impossible that the vote of June 23, 1824, was expressly intended, among other

¹ *Education in Pennsylvania*, pp. 142, 170.

things, to bestow upon this school the designation of "High School." Or, there may have been an earlier resolution upon the same subject which failed through some mischance to find its proper place in the secretary's minutes.

It was a time of new things in Boston. The town became a city on the first of May, 1822. Josiah Quincy, its second mayor, was at the head of its government from 1823 to 1828. He was a man of positive convictions and devoted himself assiduously to municipal affairs. Under the city government, until 1835, the mayor and board of aldermen were members *ex officio* of the school committee. Mr. Quincy's own account of the establishment of the school reads as follows: "In 1820, an English classical school was established, having for its object to enable the mercantile and mechanical classes to obtain an education adapted for those children, whom their parents wished to qualify for active life, and thus relieve them from the necessity of incurring the expense incident to private academiés."¹ It may be surmised that his own unfortunate experience at the Phillips Andover Academy, in the first years of its existence, may have pointed Mr. Quincy's reference to the school as a substitute for the academy.² He certainly interested himself in its affairs, and while still mayor was deep in the controversy relating to the high school for girls. He may have had much or little to do with the renaming of the English Classical School; but it seems not improbable that he was concerned with the change, that the new name was adopted in imitation of the Edinburgh High School, and that one channel through which the influence of the Edinburgh institution reached Boston was John Griscom's account of his visit to the Scottish capital.

John Griscom was a Quaker, living in New York, a man of scientific tastes and of substantial attainments in chemistry, a shrewd and sympathetic observer of men and institutions. He travelled extensively in Europe, and on his

¹ QUINCY, *A municipal history of the town and city of Boston*, pp. 21-22.

² QUINCY, *Life of Josiah Quincy*, pp. 23-28.

return published in two volumes an account of his observations. This work was noticed at some length in the *North American Review* for January, 1824. The *Review* was at that time published in Boston.

Professor Griscom (he was professor of chemistry and natural philosophy in the "New York Institution") interested himself in European movements for ameliorating the condition of the poor and of the criminal class. He devotes considerable attention in the account of his travels to Mrs. Fry's work in the Newgate prison. On his return to America he was instrumental in securing the establishment of a house of industry in New York. Mr. Quincy, in the face of much opposition, brought about the establishment of a similar institution for the city of Boston. Some years later, Professor Griscom was the guest of Mr. Quincy, and visited with him the penal institutions at Boston.

In Edinburgh, Mr. Griscom made the acquaintance of Dr. Pillans, later professor in the University of Edinburgh, but at that time rector of the High School. This school interested the American visitor greatly, and his account of it is reproduced *verbatim* in the article already referred to, in the *North American Review*. But both the author and the reviewer were especially interested in the fact that Dr. Pillans was employing the monitorial system in the conduct of his school. The Bell-Lancaster controversy was in full swing in Great Britain, and many ardent school men on this side of the water were coming to believe that the Lancasterian method had been sent down from heaven to solve the problem of financing a complete system of popular education. The state of New York, at the prompting of Governor De Witt Clinton, had entered upon a general Lancasterian movement in the second decade of this century. Massachusetts was more conservative, but numerous schools of the same type began to spring up within her borders in the twenties. Yet there had appeared but little disposition on either side of the water to extend the system to secondary schools; and the great apparent success of Dr. Pillans'

experiment in the Edinburgh High School commanded thoughtful attention.

The reviewer remarks "that the city of Boston, which makes, we doubt not, in proportion to its means, a more honorable exertion for the instruction of its own community, and is rewarded by a more excellent success, than any other city of equal size in the world, pays at least twice as much for the instruction of a boy in its admirable Latin School, as is paid for the instruction of a boy at the High School, in the more expensive city of Edinburgh;" and makes a conservative suggestion that those who have the management of public instruction inquire into the practicability of adopting some portions of the system of mutual instruction.

Professor Griscom himself proceeded to establish a school at New York, under the management of a board of trustees. These trustees were incorporated as the "High-School Society," and the school was known as the "High School for Boys." It was not opened till the first of March, 1825, some months after the Boston school had taken its new name; but its establishment seems to have been under consideration and discussion for a year or two before the formal opening.

The history of this incorporated "high school" in New York can be traced for several years, in a series of published reports. They are well edited and make interesting reading. The school received over six hundred scholars the first year. The same society opened a "Female High-School" February 1, 1826. The monitorial system was employed in these schools, but apparently with more reserve and caution in the higher than in the lower classes. The following statement as to studies is taken from the first report:

"It should never be forgotten, that the grand object of this institution is to prepare the boys for such advancement, and such pursuits in life, as they are destined to after leaving it. All who enter the school do not intend to remain for the same period of

time — and many who leave it expect to enter immediately upon the active business of life. It is very plain that these circumstances must require corresponding classifications of scholars and of studies."

"Some pursuits are nevertheless common to all. All the scholars in this department attend to Spelling, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Elocution, Composition, Drawing, Philosophy, Natural History, and Book-Keeping. Philosophy and Natural History are taught chiefly by lectures and by questions; and these branches, together with Elocution and Composition, are severally attended to one day in every week."¹

The fourth report contains a biographical sketch of Daniel H. Barnes, associate principal of the school, whose life had been lost in a stage-coach accident. The following passage relates to his acceptance of the monitorial system :

"He had satisfied himself of the value of this system by trial on a small scale in his own private classes, when his confidence in its efficacy was increased by its successful application in the High School of Edinburgh by Professor Pellans, as well as by the attestations of Drs. Mann and D'Oyley to its use in the Charter-House School of London.

"He, therefore, eagerly co-operated in the foundation of the High School for Boys, in 1824."²

It appears that dissatisfaction with the name of the new Boston school had found expression as early as 1823. The Prize Book of the Latin School published in that year contains an admirable account of the free schools of Boston, written undoubtedly by Mr. B. A. Gould, then principal of the Latin School. The part relating to the school we have under consideration opens with the following paragraph :

"Public opinion and the wants of a large class of citizens of this town have long been calling for a school in which those, who have

¹ *First annual report of the High-School Society*, pp. 6-7.

² *Fourth annual report of the High-School Society*, pp. 10-11. This school died about the close of the year 1831.

either not the desire or the means of obtaining a classical education, might receive instruction in many branches of great practical importance which have usually been taught only at the Colleges. This led to the establishment of the English Classical School."

A foot-note to the last sentence contains the following comment:

"This is as far as possible from being what its name indicates, as the classics, properly so called, are not taught, nor any knowledge of their languages required. It is hoped that an enlightened board of school committee will find some more appropriate name for this school, and not suffer so erroneous a use of terms to prevail among the youth of Boston."¹

Whether with or without official sanction, the change of name was made, as we have seen, in 1824. But at one time the use of the earlier designation was resumed. In 1832 the school committee, finding no authority in their minutes for the title "English High School," dropped it and called the institution the "English Classical School," as at the beginning. The committee took considerable interest in this matter, and one would guess from the record that it was the occasion of some controversy. However, this action of 1832 was reversed in the following year, and since that time the school has been uniformly known as the English High School.

It seems altogether probable, in the light of such facts as have been presented, that this name was suggested by that of the high school at Edinburgh.² But it is not so clear that the Boston school followed the example of its Scotch namesake in other particulars. I have not found evidence that the system of mutual instruction was ever introduced into the English High School. Moreover, the instruction in the ancient classics, which was — and I suppose still is — the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

² How did the Edinburgh school get its name? And was not the term *high school* already a common one in Scotland two or three centuries ago? It might be of interest to follow these questions further.

most marked feature of the Edinburgh school, was not introduced into the English High School at all, in the earlier days. The contrast between the two schools in this particular is brought out sharply by another passage in Griscom's account. He says:

"Although the system of instruction adopted in the High School is, professedly, intended to be chiefly classical; P[illans] remarked, that he should think himself very deficient in his duty, in teaching the boys only Latin and Greek, and omitting to avail himself of every suitable occasion to inculcate moral truth, and to excite them to intellectual exertion. This he regards as one of the most important advantages of classical instruction. He thinks it might be practicable to frame a course of English study, that would be equally efficacious in training the mind to the pursuit of knowledge, and in disciplining its powers to a close and vigorous application; but such a course of study would be exceedingly unpopular in Scotland." ¹

The ideas embodied in the English High School, then, cannot be traced to the High School of Edinburgh, however much the rector of that school at the time may have been disposed to look favorably on such ideas. In so far as they were drawn from institutions then existing, we can trace them to the English side of the New England academies; and to the English grammar schools of Boston, of which the high school was an extension upward. The school was undoubtedly influenced also by the Latin School, which it paralleled. In one important particular the example of the Edinburgh school may in all likelihood have worked to the advantage of the high school in Boston. From the year 1566 the former institution had been under the direct control and patronage of the city authorities of Edinburgh. Like other schools of the Scotch municipalities, it enjoyed a peculiarly close relationship with the civic life of the community in which it was established: Both the Latin School and the English High School have stood in a like relationship with

¹ *Op. cit.*, II., p. 365.

the civic life of Boston. Edinburgh and Boston have had many common interests, and pride in institutions of learning under public control has been not the least of these. This connection of the schools with the political community is worthy of special notice, for such connection has been of great significance in the growth of our American high schools.

It would seem that the example of Edinburgh has had its influence along with that of Boston in our high school movement beyond the limits of New England. When the Public School Society of New York made their appeal, in 1828, for means wherewith to establish a high school, the examples to which they pointed in support of their plan were those of Edinburgh and Boston :

“The means of instruction, which are offered to the poor, should be the very best which can be provided. They may not all be able to proceed so far in the path of learning as others in happier circumstances. But to the extent of their progress, let them have all the helps which the present state of knowledge affords. This is no mere fanciful theory. The advantages of a free intercourse and competition between persons of all ranks and conditions in life, as exhibited in the Edinburgh High School, have been admirably illustrated by one of the first British orators of the age. He regarded such an institution as invaluable in a free state; because, to use his own language, men of the highest and lowest rank in the community sent their children there to be educated together. The practical beneficence of this system is attested by the noble institutions of a sister city.”¹

¹ *An address of the trustees of the Public School Society in the City of New York, to their fellow-citizens respecting the extension of their public schools.* New York, 1828, p. 11.

The “sister city” is undoubtedly Boston, which is elsewhere mentioned by name in the same document. The British orator referred to is Lord Brougham, who had been an Edinburgh High-School boy. The remarks quoted from him were uttered at the great entertainment given in his honor in Edinburgh in 1825. STEVEN gives the passage in full (*History of the high school of Edinburgh*, pp. 212-213). It may be added that Lord Brougham’s *Practical observations upon the education of the people*, which ran through twenty editions in the year of its publication (1825), was reprinted the following year in Boston.

Within a few years after the establishment of the English High School in Boston, several other schools of similar character were opened in different parts of Massachusetts. The "Educational Revival" was soon in full progress in that state, and public schools of all grades were quickened and strengthened by it.

A little later the high school movement passed beyond the bounds of Massachusetts. The state legislature of Pennsylvania had passed an act, in 1818, making the "Lancasterian" system obligatory on the schools of Philadelphia. In 1836 this statute was repealed, and the new act for Philadelphia then passed authorized the establishment of a high school. The Central High School, erected under this act, was opened to students in October, 1838. The first year its organization was tentative. Then it came under the strong, shaping hand of Alexander Dallas Bache, who was at its head from 1839 to 1842. He provided three parallel courses: An English course, two years in length; a classical course of four years; and a modern languages course of four years. Professor Bache, in 1841, described the object of the school as being "especially to provide a liberal education for those intended for business life." The legislature granted to it, in 1849, the power to confer academic degrees.

The mayor and city council of Baltimore, in 1839, authorized and requested the commissioners of public schools of that city to establish a high school, "in which the higher branches of English and classical literature only should be taught." In accordance with this resolution, the Baltimore high school was organized in the fall of 1839. In 1848 the name of this institution was changed to "the Central High School," in order to distinguish it from the Eastern and Western high schools, which had then been provided. A reorganization in 1851 introduced the departmental plan of instruction. The name was changed by city ordinance, in 1866, to "The Baltimore City College."

Charleston, South Carolina, was about this time a center of particularly active educational interest. In 1839, the

city council voted to establish a high school, and the school was opened on the first of July of that year. A tuition fee of forty dollars a year was charged, the city council voting to supplement the income from this source so as to provide amply for the maintenance of the school. An annual appropriation of one thousand dollars was also voted "to be invested in city bonds to form a permanent fund for the school." Only boys were admitted. They were offered two parallel courses of study, classical and English, each four years in length.

At Providence, Rhode Island, a graded school system had been established in 1829. In 1838, after much opposition, a city ordinance was secured providing for the reorganization of the schools and the establishment of a high school. The next year Nathan Bishop was employed as school superintendent. The high school building was dedicated early in 1843, and the school was opened, with the superintendent acting as its principal. This school had a girls' department from the start. In 1855 the boys' department was divided into a classical and an English and scientific department.

A number of such schools were established in the towns of Ohio in the course of the forties. Connecticut joined in the movement about the same time; and in 1847, after a campaign of education led by such men as Horace Bushnell and Henry Barnard, Hartford voted "to establish a free high school for instruction in the higher branches of an English and the elementary branches of a classical education, for all the male and female children of suitable age and acquirements in this society, who may wish to avail themselves of its advantages." The old, colonial grammar school of Hartford, which had been transformed into something like an academy, as has already been told, was now made a part of the new high school, and the income from its endowment was used for the support of a classical teacher.

An act of the New York state legislature authorized the board of education of New York City, in 1847, to establish

a free academy. This act was ratified the same year by vote of the city, and the school was opened the following year. In 1854 it was empowered to grant academic degrees. On recommendation of the board of education, in 1866, the institution became "The College of the City of New York."

From 1850 to the outbreak of the Civil War, the establishment of high schools went steadily forward. In Cincinnati the Hughes and Woodward funds, devoted to educational uses by two early citizens of that town, were made available for an extension of the public schools in 1851, and the Hughes and Woodward High Schools were accordingly established. The Woodward endowment, dating from 1826, had maintained a high school, so called, from 1831 to 1836, and a college from 1836 to 1851. The Hughes bequest had been made in 1824.

The Girls' High School¹ of Boston, which had been closed in 1828 after a flourishing existence of only two years, was reopened, in 1852, as a training school for teachers. St. Louis opened a regular high school in 1853, Chicago and San Francisco each in 1856, and Detroit in 1858.

How many schools of this class were in existence previous to the Civil War, it would be hard to say. According to Barney's *Report on the American system*, eighty cities had such schools in 1851.² One year later, there were sixty-four reported in Massachusetts alone.³ Ohio is said to have had ninety-seven in 1856.⁴ Other states were already making considerable progress in the building up of such institutions. Dr. Harris' estimate of forty high schools in the whole country in 1860⁵ was doubtless reached through

¹ For a sketch of the early history of this school, see *The School Review*, VII., pp. 286-294, May, 1899.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

³ HILL, *How far the high school is a just charge*, etc.

⁴ TAYLOR, *Ohio school system*, p. 409.

⁵ In his address on *Recent growth of public high schools*, etc. (Proc. N. E. A., session of 1901, pp. 174-180). Dr. Harris has of late been making an extended inquiry into the chronology of our early high schools, and has courteously permitted me to make use of a tabulated summary of his results. See Appendix D.

a winnowing process. It is fair to presume that many institutions known as high schools were only advanced elementary schools, so far as their spirit and methods were concerned. On the other hand, many elementary schools, under ambitious teachers, were pushing upward into higher ranges of study. "Our public schools must be expanded upwards," said Samuel Lewis of Ohio. This conviction was abroad, among teachers and members of educational boards.¹

Yet the great majority of students pursuing secondary school studies was still found in the academies, and the establishment of new academies was going steadily forward. It is not surprising that, although the institutions of these two types were so diverse in character and aims, there should have sprung up an active rivalry between them. This rivalry was not simply a competition for patronage, but was much more the clash of opposing views of public education.

The discussions of the time, particularly those which attended the establishment of new high schools, throw much light on the principles and aspirations of the two institutions.² An unusually illuminating literature of this sort was called forth by the establishment of the free academy at Norwich, Connecticut, early in the fifties. This institution differed from the ordinary type both of the academy and of the high school. Its origin is described as follows in a recent issue of the annual catalogue:³

"The Free Academy originated in a remarkable movement of leading citizens for the improvement of the educational advantages of Norwich. This movement commenced about 1846 and culmi-

¹ Mr. Gifford H. G. McGrew, of the University of California, has prepared a preliminary list of early high schools. I am indebted to Mr. McGrew for a copy of his manuscript, which has been of help to me in the preparation of this chapter.

² On various aspects of this discussion, see for example, STOCKWELL, *Public education in Rhode Island*, pp. 175-194; the centennial *History of education in the state of Ohio*, pp. 133-148, 158, 160-162, and 172; and BARNEY'S *Report* of 1851, with MUDD'S *Review* of 1853.

³ The quotation is from the catalogue for 1894-95.

nated in 1854, when the academy was incorporated. The leader of the enterprise was Dr. John P. Gulliver, who died last year in Andover, Mass., and has left behind him an enduring claim to the gratitude of dwellers in Norwich in all coming generations. The popular movement was part of that general agitation out of which came the high-school system, first developed by Horace Mann in Massachusetts, and afterward generally adopted in the United States.

“In Norwich, however, no high school was established. Instead of this, a body of the most influential citizens took upon their own shoulders the burden of providing for higher education. Amid much enthusiasm an endowment of \$50,000 was raised, with \$30,000 additional to cover the cost of the school building, and the academy was opened October 21, 1856, with eighty pupils. The school, thus auspiciously founded, grew with a healthy growth, in both endowment and number of pupils, during the first thirty years of its existence; but the great extension of its influence and its expansion during the last ten years, beyond what even its founders ventured to anticipate, are chiefly due to the wise liberality and personal interest of Mr. William A. Slater, a graduate of the academy in 1875, and of Harvard University in 1881.”

A more detailed account of the beginnings was given by Dr. Gulliver himself in his address at the dedication of the first Free Academy building, in October, 1856. Its bearing upon our subject is so intimate, and the intrinsic interest of certain portions is so great, that somewhat extended passages from it are here presented:

“In January, 1839, a serious effort was made to effect a thorough reorganization of the city schools. This movement took its rise in the debates of the Norwich Mechanics' Association, in whose meetings the question had been discussed for two years, ‘Is the school fund of Connecticut, as at present used, an injury or a benefit to our schools?’ The conviction became at last quite universal that without additional taxation of property for the support of schools the fund is a decided injury to the cause it was intended to promote. A petition was accordingly prepared, in which similar associations in Hartford and New Haven united; praying the

legislature to grant to school districts the power of imposing taxes for the support of schools.

"This petition was granted in respect to the districts represented by the petitioners. Thereupon a report was presented by the Rev. Mr. Paddock and Mr. Francis A. Perkins to the school society recommending the union of the three central districts of the city and the establishment in them of a graded system of schools, with a high school at its head. This plan was, after some discussion, adopted without a dissenting voice. Certain individuals were, however, dissatisfied with this result, and in September of the same year they succeeded in procuring a reconsideration of the former vote, and the project was for that time abandoned."

An interesting reference is made to the struggle, carried on in mass meetings and at the polls, between the advocates and the opponents of the high school. The address then continues:

"*This was the soil* into which the seed was cast from which grew the grand enterprise whose successful beginning we celebrate to-day. In the midst of the struggle a gentleman, since a large donor to the institution, declared, more in jest than in earnest, 'These men talk about a high school! I would not take one for a gift if it is to be managed by such assemblages as we have lately had at the Town Hall. I am in favor of an endowed school and would give \$5,000 toward one.' This chance remark suggested the idea of this institution; and led to a series of inquiries and investigations which were continued for two years. The first question was, Are public high schools, supported by taxation, in all respects successful? the second, Would endowed free schools remedy their defects? the third, On what plan should endowed schools be conducted in order to insure success? On these points, either by correspondence or by personal interviews, a large number of the leading educators of the country were consulted. It was ascertained that in all quarters apprehension was beginning to be felt in regard to the working of our higher public schools. The lower schools up to the grade of the grammar school were well sustained. Men were to be found in all our communities who had been themselves educated up to that point, and understood, practically, the importance of such schools, in sufficient numbers to control popular

sentiment, and secure for them ample appropriations and steady support. But the studies of the high school, Algebra, Geometry, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Ancient History, Latin, Greek, French and German, were a perfect 'terra incognita' to the great mass of the people. While the High School was a new thing and while a few enlightened citizens had the control of it, in numerous instances it was carried to a high state of perfection. But after a time the burden of taxation would begin to be felt. Men would discuss the high salaries paid to the accomplished teachers which such schools demand, and would ask, 'To what purpose is this waste?' Demagogues, keen-scented as wolves, would snuff the prey. 'What do we want of a High School to teach rich men's children?' they would shout. 'It is a shame to tax the poor man to pay a man \$1,800 to teach children to make x's and pot-hooks and gabble parley-vous.' The work would go bravely on; and on election day, amid great excitement, a new school committee would be chosen, in favor of retrenchment and popular rights. In a single day the fruit of years of labor would be destroyed. Such occurrences, it was ascertained, had already become sufficiently numerous to excite alarm among the most intelligent friends of education. Even in communities where the high school had been uniformly prosperous, it appeared that the same influence was at work and awakened constant apprehension. The proposal to establish an endowed high school was regarded with great favor, and a uniform opinion was expressed that, properly managed, it would supply all the defects in the public high school. Indeed the plan, though generally regarded as impracticable, was hailed with enthusiasm, as at least a theoretical solution of a very perplexing problem. The next point was to ascertain the principles which should form the basis of such an enterprise. The Putnam School, at Newburyport, seemed to furnish the best model for imitation. This school had received an endowment of \$50,000, from Oliver Putnam, Esq., of Newbury, and was then in successful operation, extending a most beneficent influence over a wide circle of common schools in eastern Massachusetts. One unfortunate error had, however, been committed by its founders, in assigning the election of the trustees to the town. A noted political leader, taking advantage of this circumstance, persuaded the people that Mr. Putnam's design in founding the school, was not so much to raise the standard of education, as to relieve the burden of taxation, and proposed that

the school should be made a substitute for one of the public schools of the town. There is great danger that the benevolent design of Mr. Putnam will be frustrated by the same influence which is sapping the foundation of many of our public high schools. Another salutary caution was given by the experience of the endowed school at Colchester. The funds there are under the control of a self-perpetuating board of trustees. But the school embraces all departments of instruction from the infant school upward. Then it becomes a rival to the common schools, and depresses rather than elevates them. Various other points in the plan became the subject of careful thought and inquiry. The effort was made to attain all the light which the experience and skill of practical educators could furnish, though the painful conviction still remained, that others would, in like manner, hereafter learn wisdom from the errors into which we might fall.”¹

The opposing view was forcibly presented about this time by the Hon. George S. Boutwell, secretary of the Board of Education of the State of Massachusetts, in an address before the American Institute of Instruction. The following passages from that address are especially significant:

“The distinguishing difference between the advocates of endowed schools and of free schools is this: those who advocate the system of endowed academies go back in their arguments to one foundation, which is, that in education of the higher grades the great mass of the people are not to be trusted. And those who advocate a system of free education in high schools put the matter where we have put the rights of property and liberty, where we put the institutions of law and religion — upon the public judgment. And we will stand there. If the public will not maintain institutions of learning, then, I say, let institutions of learning go down.

“It is said that the means of education are better in an endowed academy, or in an endowed free school, than they can be in a public school. What is meant by *means* of education? I understand that, first and chiefly, as extraneous means of education, we must look to a correct public sentiment, which shall animate and influence the teacher, which shall give direction to the school, which

¹ Norwich *Weekly Courier* for November 25, 1856.

shall furnish the necessary public funds. An endowed free academy can have none of these things permanently. Take, for example, the free school established at Norwich by the liberality of thirty or forty gentlemen, who contributed ninety thousand dollars. What security is there that fifty years hence, when the educational wants of the people shall be changed, when the population of Norwich shall be double or treble what it is now, when science shall make greater demands, when these forty contributors shall have passed away, this institution will answer the wants of that generation? According to what we know of the history of this country, it will be entirely inadequate; and, though none of us may live to see the prediction fulfilled or falsified, I do not hesitate to say that the school will ultimately prove a failure, because it is founded in a 'mistake.'¹

Mr. Boutwell discussed the same question in an address delivered at the dedication of the Powers Institute at Bernardston. His reference to Dartmouth College on that occasion is significant of the effect which the supreme court decision had had upon popular opinion with reference to secondary schools. He said:

"This institution is a high school, and the question is now agitated, especially in the State of Connecticut, 'How can the advantages of a high-school education be best secured?' This question I propose to consider. And, first, the high school must be a public school. A *public school* I understand to be a school established by the public — supported chiefly or entirely by the public, controlled by the public, and accessible to the public upon terms of equality, without special charge for tuition.

"Private schools may be established and controlled by an individual, or by an association of individuals, who have no corporate rights under the government, but receive pupils upon terms agreed upon, subject to the ordinary laws of the land.

"Private schools may be founded also by one or more persons, and by them endowed with funds for their partial or entire support. In such cases the founder, through the money given, has the right to prescribe the rules by which the school shall be con-

¹ BOUTWELL, *Educational topics and institutions*, pp. 152-154.

trolled, and also to provide for the appointment of its managers or trustees through all time. In such cases, corporate powers are usually granted by the government for the management of the business. But the chief rights of such an institution are derived from the founder, and the facilities for their easy exercise and quiet enjoyment are derived from the state.

“Such schools are sometimes, upon a superficial view, supposed to be public, because they receive pupils upon terms of equality, and no rule of exclusion exists which does not apply to all. And especially has it been assumed that a free school thus founded, as the Norwich Free Academy, which makes no charges for tuition, and is open to all the inhabitants of the city, is therefore a public school. These institutions are public in their use, but not in their foundation or control, and are therefore not public schools. The character of a school, as of an eleemosynary institution, is derived from the will of the founder; and when the beneficial founder is an individual, or a number of individuals less than the whole political organization of which the individuals are a part, the institution is private, whatever the rules for its enjoyment may be. To say that a school is a public school because it receives pupils free of charge for tuition, or because it receives them upon conditions that are applied alike to all, is to deny that there are any private schools, for all come within the definition thus laid down.

“Nor is there any good reasoning in the statement that a school is public because it receives pupils from a large extent of country. Dartmouth College is a private school, though its pupils come from all the land or all the world; while the Boston Latin School is a public school, though it receives those pupils only whose homes are within the limits of the city. The first is a private school because it was founded by President Wheelock, and has been controlled by him and his successors, holding and governing and enjoying through him, from the first until now; while the Boston Latin School is a public school, because it was established by the city of Boston, through the votes of its inhabitants, under the laws of the state, and is at all times subject, in its government and existence, to the popular will which created it. . . . In the private school, with a self-perpetuating board of trustees, the temptation is strong to make the organization subservient to some opinion in politics, religion, or social life. This may not always be done; but in many cases it has been done, and there is no reason to ex-

pect different things in the future. I concur, then, unreservedly in the judgment which has placed this institution, in all its interests and in all its duties, under the control of the inhabitants of Bernardston." ¹

These opposing arguments are presented for their historical rather than their controversial value. It may be added that the Norwich Free Academy has had and continues to have a highly successful career. At the same time it cannot be said to have inaugurated any general movement toward the establishment of privately managed secondary schools as the direct continuation of city systems of elementary instruction. There is evidently room in our systems of public education for more than one type of secondary-school organization. More than that, there is evident need of schools of different types for the satisfaction of diverse wants and the attainment of various public ends. But the characteristic tendency of the past half-century is undoubtedly seen in the upward extension of public elementary schools into public high schools.

The making of these schools represents a high development of the spirit of co-operation. The earlier academy movement was a missionary enterprise—a bringing to the people of something for the people's good. The spirit which it embodied is one of the finest things in all the world, a mainstay of our hopes for the betterment of human life. The high schools on the other hand appeal less to imagination and sentiment. Their promoters did not set about doing good to the people, but rather undertook to work with all the people for the common good. Here, too, we touch on one of the finest things in all the world, the spirit which draws men together in a common pursuit of the public welfare. And this, too, must have its place—a first place, is it not?—in all our hope for better things. All of our best institutions, it should be added, the best of either sort and of every sort, go back to that precious foundation stone of our American life, the free initiative of high-minded individual citizens.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 187-195.

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CHAPTER XV

SPECIAL MOVEMENTS

THE two leading types of American secondary school are now before us. Their rivalry and interplay have lent much of interest to our education of this grade during the past two generations. But the period that we now have under consideration was marked by the appearance, in a smaller way, of other schools, some of them variants from the academy, and some of them representatives of older European types.

In some portions of the present territory of the United States, the beginnings of Catholic education date far back in the period preceding the Revolution. The earlier annals of Louisiana, for example, show some stray gleams of strong educational interest. Father Cecil, a Capuchin monk, is said to have opened a school for boys in the early part of the eighteenth century. The seminary of the Ursuline nuns near New Orleans was opened in 1727, and seems to have exercised a very beneficent influence on the early life of the colony.¹

After the Revolution, the immigration of Roman Catholics of various nationalities, chiefly Irish at first, assumed considerable proportions. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the influx of Catholic candidates for American citizenship, Irish, German, and others, became so large as to cause great political disturbances. As soon as possible after the setting up of their diocesan government in this country (1790), the Catholics went about the opening of parochial schools, together with institutions of secondary education and seminaries for the training up of young men for the priesthood.

¹ FAY, *Education in Louisiana*, ch. 1.

Their schools of secondary education were generally established under the direction of various teaching orders.

The Jesuits had made long-continued efforts to keep alive Catholic educational institutions in Maryland. One of the most notable of their achievements in colonial times was the conduct of a school at Bohemia Manor, about the middle of the eighteenth century. Here Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was educated, together with his cousin, John Carroll, the first Catholic Bishop of Baltimore. John Carroll received his later training in Europe, at the Jesuit college of St. Omer, and himself entered the order. He returned to America shortly before the outbreak of the war for independence. At this time the Society of Jesus was not only in disfavor with some of the chief civil powers of Europe, but was under the ban of the church as well. Such Jesuits as remained in Maryland appeared only in the capacity of secular priests.

Father Carroll earnestly desired a seminary for theological training, and he at one time held the opinion that the classical preparation needed by prospective priests might very well be secured in such secondary schools as were already at hand. As a result of travels through the new states and conversation with others of the same faith, his attitude in this matter changed. He became convinced that the existing academies were so intensely Protestant that young Catholics could not attend them without danger to their Catholic principles. He accordingly took steps looking to the establishment not only of a seminary for the recruitment of the priesthood, but also of a classical school. The outcome was Georgetown Academy.

The chapter convened by Dr. Carroll at Whitmarsh, in 1786, framed the following resolves, by way of a beginning:

“1. That a school be erected for the education of youth, and the perpetuity of the body of clergy in this country.

“2. That the following plan be adopted for the carrying the same into execution :

“PLAN OF THE SCHOOL

“1. In order to raise the money necessary for erecting the aforesaid school, a general subscription shall be opened immediately.

“2. Proper persons shall be appointed in different parts of the continent, West India Islands, and Europe, to solicit subscriptions and collect the same.

“3. Five Directors of the school, and the business relative thereto, shall be appointed by the General Chapter.

“4. The moneys collected by subscription shall be lodged in the hands of the aforesaid Directors.

“5. Masters and tutors to be procured and paid by the Directors quarterly, and subject to their direction.

“TERMS OF THE SCHOOL.

“1. The students shall be boarded at the Parents' expense.

“2. The pension for tuition shall be £10 currency per annum, and is to be paid quarterly, and always in advance.

“3. With the pension the students shall be provided with masters, books, paper, pens, ink and firewood in the school.

“4. The Directors shall have power to make further regulations, as circumstances may point out necessary.”¹

Before the academy could be fully established, the District of Columbia had been set apart as the seat of the national government, and the site selected for the school was found to occupy a very advantageous position of proximity to the capital city. A suitable building was erected, and the institution was opened in September, 1791. It was virtually a school of the Jesuits from the start; and after the rehabilitation of the order it was placed under their management, in 1805. In 1815 it was authorized by Congress to grant academic degrees.

The first student enrolled in the Georgetown Academy was William Gaston, afterwards distinguished in public

¹ *Memorial of the first centenary of Georgetown College*, p. 10.

life. During the first years of its existence, the school seems to have been intended especially if not exclusively for Catholic students. About 1796 it was thrown open freely to those of other faiths, and began to receive a considerable number of Protestants. The two sons of Bushrod Washington were sent to it. A notable day in the early history of the school was the occasion of a visit from George Washington. The Father of his Country was greeted with enthusiasm. A formal address of welcome was delivered, and a commemorative poem was read by Robert Walsh.

In the meantime, Bishop Carroll's desire for a seminary had been satisfied, a small company of Sulpitians having established such an institution at Baltimore in 1791. The Sulpitians also established St. Mary's College at Baltimore, which was chartered by the Maryland legislature in 1805.¹

The Academy of the Visitation was opened at Georgetown in 1798, and entered upon a career of large influence in the education of girls. There is much of human interest in the early history of this school which has been well brought out in the published accounts of its career. The three "pious ladies" by whom it was established encountered endless difficulties, and it was not till eighteen years after the beginning that their conventual life was fully settled.²

A little later there began another widely influential Catholic movement for the education of girls, the story of which is also full of interest. Mrs. Seton, the wife of an American merchant, was travelling with her husband in Italy, when his death left her a widow among strangers and far from her native land. She was treated with much kindness, and after a time became a convert to Catholicism. After her return to her American home, she sought for ways in which she might be of service to the church and useful to those about her. The accounts which have been handed down represent her as a woman of unusually high character and

¹ *Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice*, pp. 1-11.

² LATHROP, *A story of courage*.

intelligence, and of great efficiency in the management of affairs. She gathered a few girls about her for instruction. Then a gift of land near Emmitsburg, for educational purposes, opened a way for the enlargement of her plans. She organized the American society of Sisters of Charity (1811). The house of this order, at Emmitsburg, soon came into high favor as a place for the education of girls; and colonies of sisters were sent out from it to organize similar establishments in different portions of the country. They took charge of Nazareth Academy near Bardstown, Kentucky, as early as 1812. St. Mary's Academy, in New York City, was opened by them in 1835.¹

Bardstown, Kentucky, became, early in the nineteenth century, a great centre of Roman Catholic influence in the west. The diocese of Bardstown was erected in 1808. In addition to Nazareth Academy, already referred to, Loretto Academy, for girls; Calvary Academy, also for girls; and St. Joseph's College and Seminary, were established in or near Bardstown within the ten or twelve years next following.

A summary of Catholic education in this country in 1830 shows that it was then represented by seven ecclesiastical seminaries, ten colleges and collegiate institutions, several academies for boys, twenty nunneries to which female academies were attached, besides numerous primary and charity schools. The Catholic population of the country was then estimated at about half a million. Considerable aid had been received from Europe for the promotion of Catholic education.²

The Jesuits steadily increased the range of their activity, as time went on, in the domain of both secondary and collegiate education. They were prominent in the early Catholic movement in Kentucky. In 1846 the Kentucky Jesuits were invited by Bishop Hughes (afterwards the first Arch-

¹ BRUNOWE, *A famous convent school*. CONSIDINE, *Chronological account*, p. 15.

² *Quarterly Register and Journal of the American Education Society*, II., p. 229.

bishop of New York), to take charge of the new St. John's College at Fordham, which has been an important centre of Jesuit educational activity since that time. This institution, formally opened by Bishop Hughes in 1841, was at first under the presidency of Father McCloskey, who later became the first American cardinal. It was empowered to grant academic degrees in 1846.¹

A Catholic seminary, erected at Mt. St. James, near Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1840, by Father James Fitton, a missionary priest, became in 1843 the College of the Holy Cross. It was placed under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, and was incorporated by the state in 1865. It is the oldest Catholic college in New England.²

An institution which has exercised a great influence over Catholic secondary and higher education in the western states, the University of Notre Dame, at Notre Dame, Indiana, was founded in 1842 by the Superior General of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. It was incorporated by the legislature of Indiana in 1844.³

The Brothers of the Christian Schools, members of one of the most notable European orders established for the education of children, opened their first school on this continent at Montreal, in 1838. Soon after they are found in Baltimore and in New York. The Brothers, while engaging actively in the conduct of elementary schools in this country, early entered the field of secondary education. Their De La Salle Academy was opened in New York in the year 1848. They established the Academy of the Holy Infancy at Manhattanville in 1853. Ten years later this institution was raised to collegiate rank, receiving a charter under the title of Manhattan College.⁴

Numerous other schools of secondary or combined secondary and higher education were organized before the Civil

¹ CONSIDINE, *Chronological account*, pp. 15-19; TAAFE, *St. John's College*, passim; *Catalogue* of the college.

² *Historical sketch of the College of the Holy Cross*.

³ *Catalogue* of the University.

⁴ RAVELET, *Blessed de la Salle*, passim; CONSIDINE, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23, 25-26.

War, under the management of the societies already referred to, or of other religious orders within the Catholic church, or of the secular clergy of that church.

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, convent schools for girls seem to have come to wide popularity, not only among Catholics, but in some Protestant circles as well. It would be impossible in this sketch to mention by name any considerable number of these schools. But two or three may be referred to in addition to such as have already been named.

The Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur were first established in this country at Cincinnati in 1840. A community of Ladies of the Sacred Heart was settled in New York in 1841, under the government of Madame de Galitzin. They opened the same year their Academy for Young Ladies, which was soon removed to Astoria, Long Island, and then to Manhattanville. This order had been founded by Madame Barat, in Paris, at the opening of the nineteenth century, expressly for the education of young women.¹ A little later, several members of the School Sisters of Notre Dame came to this country from Bavaria and began their labors in the Institute de Notre Dame in Baltimore. They had prepared themselves for their duties by taking a teachers' training course, and passing the city teachers' examination in Munich. Their society was incorporated by the legislature of Maryland, in 1864, for educational purposes. A few years later, they secured a valuable tract of land in the suburbs of Baltimore, and proceeded to erect a college for women, which was to be known as Notre Dame of Maryland. This college was empowered to grant academic degrees, by act of the legislature in 1896.²

The schools which have been mentioned were probably among the best of the earlier Catholic schools for young women, though no attempt is here made to estimate their

¹ *Life of the Venerable Madeleine Barat*, chaps. 2, 8, 11, and 12. CONSIDINE, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

² Letter from the Directress of the College, and the *Annual catalogue*.

relative standing. It is not clear to what extent the ordinary convent schools in the earlier days gave instruction of a secondary grade. A good deal of their teaching must have been such as would now be called elementary. And there was probably some ground for the complaint that they devoted relatively too much attention to the mere accomplishments which the social standards of the time required young ladies to have mastered, and not enough to such solid learning as was thought fit for boys.

We may readily conclude, however, from the crusade against pettiness in girls' education which was waged by Emma Willard and Mary Lyon and those who thought and wrought with them, that convent schools were not the only schools found wanting in this respect. Noah Webster, writing of Connecticut in 1806, referred to "academies for young ladies, in which are taught the additional branches of needlework, drawing, and embroidery." These pursuits were referred to as additional to the ordinary academy studies; but it is to be feared that more attention was paid, in many cases, to the trimmings than to the foundation material of an education. Catholic schools for girls and those of other denominations and of no denomination as well, have been making their way painfully out from under the domination of petty ideals during the past two generations. An interesting part in this movement has been borne by the Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur, whose first establishment in this country was briefly noted above. Forty-three convents are now maintained by these sisters, with numerous schools and colleges. Their labors have recently culminated in the establishment of Trinity College in Washington, which has been described as "the first fully equipped college for girls under Catholic influence."¹

The forward movement in Catholic secondary education which has taken place within the generation just past will be noticed in a later chapter.²

¹ Cf. *A golden jubilee of education*.

² I am indebted to the Right Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, Rector of the

Among the several Protestant denominations, during the period we have been considering, the conviction was gaining ground that religious differences ought not to divide our people in the great national concern of public education. The early high schools and many of the contemporary academies were much alike in that a positive religious element was present in them, while they were still undenominational in character. The Catholics objected to such schools on the ground that their "undenominationalism" was in fact undenominational Protestantism. To most Protestants and to many other citizens having no religious affiliations, such schools appeared to give the strongest assurance of the maintenance of religious freedom, and so in the end of political freedom. There came, in time, to be among our people a really passionate devotion to the public schools, as embodying such hopes and aspirations as these, and this feeling greatly promoted the building up of our public high schools.

Yet the several Protestant denominations were never unanimous in their attitude toward schools and education, and in the most of them earnest efforts were put forth to secure the establishment and maintenance of denominational schools. These efforts met, too, with a large measure of success. The secondary schools of the Protestant Episcopal church may be taken as representative of this movement. They were making interesting beginnings in the earlier half of the nineteenth century. But since the building up of highly influential Episcopalian schools is one of the marked characteristics of the period following the Civil War, a consideration of this topic will be deferred till we come to the chapter on Recent Tendencies.

Daniel Defoe's project of a military academy found a far-away realization in the establishment of such an institution by our national government, at West Point, in 1802.

Catholic University of America, for helpful suggestions in connection with the sketch of Catholic secondary education begun in this chapter and continued in chapter XVIII.

The impressive centennial celebration of our Military Academy is a recent memory. This school was hardly more than an establishment for military apprenticeship during the first ten years of its existence. Then, under stress of war, and in accordance with repeated recommendations of a few far-sighted men, the institution was made into something more like a school of engineering and military science.

Within the next few years some strong men found a place in its corps of instruction. Claude Crozet became professor of engineering. It is claimed that he first introduced the use of the blackboard into this country, besides making other important improvements in his branch of instruction at the Military Academy. Captain Alden Partridge, an early graduate of the institution, after officiating for a time as professor of mathematics, and later of engineering, became superintendent of the Academy. He was a man of ideas and of personal force; but he was not in harmony with the policy laid down for the institution, and in 1817 he was succeeded in the superintendency by Major Sylvanus Thayer. Major Thayer was at the head of the institution for sixteen years, and did much to bring it up to that high place which it has now held for many years.¹

The plan of instruction at West Point took strong hold upon many intelligent minds. A system of education which could send out so vigorous and efficient a type of manhood, was deemed worthy of wider application. So the national Military Academy came to have a numerous progeny. Its ideals influenced the instruction in the Central High School of Philadelphia and the New York Free Academy; and other military schools were organized in several places.

Captain Partridge, after his resignation from the army, founded in 1819 the "American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy," which has had a migratory and varied existence. It was first established at Norwich, Vermont. It was removed to Middletown, Connecticut, and then returned to Norwich. In 1866 it was again removed, to

¹ PARK, *West Point and the U. S. Military Academy*, passim.

Northfield, Vermont, where it still abides. It was chartered in 1834 as Norwich University. From 1850 to 1880 it was conducted under Episcopalian auspices. Then it became non-sectarian, and for four years bore the title of Lewis College. Its old name was restored in 1884, and it was made virtually a state military institution.

The fact that Admiral Dewey was educated in this school has brought it prominently before the public in recent years. The founder, Captain Partridge, seems to have been deeply impressed with the value of a military training, and to have possessed some remarkable qualifications for the position of leader, instructor, and commander of boys. But his plan of education was conceived on such a scale that it could not well be carried into full execution. The announcement which he issued in 1820 declared his intention to offer a course of instruction in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, and English languages; in composition, logic, history, and ethics; and in an immense range of subjects coming within the general scope of mathematics, physics, engineering, and military science. He added that, "The military exercises and duties will be so arranged as not to occupy any of the time that would otherwise be devoted to study; they will be attended to at those hours of the day which are generally passed by students in idleness, or devoted to useless amusements, for which they will be made a pleasing and healthful substitute."

Another of the substitutes for "useless amusements" provided in this academy was an occasional long tramp across the country. Captain Partridge's expeditions of this sort, which he led in person, were in high favor with his boys. One of them even extended from Middletown all the way to the National Capital. Whether consciously or not, Captain Partridge was carrying into practice Milton's proposal that young men should travel over their own land and become acquainted with its military and industrial advantages.¹

¹ ELLIS, *Norwich University*, passim. Captain Partridge's criticism of the education prevalent at the time of the establishment of the Norwich Academy is given in the *Am. Journ. Ed.*, XIII., pp. 54-56.

The military type of education soon came into high favor in the southern states. Captain Partridge founded the Virginia Literary, Scientific, and Military Institute at Portsmouth, in 1839. The same year the Virginia Military Institute was established at Lexington, following the general lines of the Academy at West Point. This West Point of the south has had a remarkable history, which is almost as well known as that of our national Academy. General Francis H. Smith was for many years at its head, and gave it its academic organization. His long service is held in honored memory. And with it is joined the memory of the ten-year instructorship, so diversely significant to the institution, of that indifferent teacher and consummate soldier, Stonewall Jackson.¹

The South Carolina Military Academy was established in 1842. It has been shown that its earlier history was closely interwoven with the political history of the state. Military stores had been gathered, in the Arsenal at Columbia and the Citadel at Charleston, to provide against possible public needs. The Nat Turner insurrection and the Nullification troubles a little later had suggested such provision. A guard was maintained at state expense at each of these posts, until some far-sighted citizens conceived the idea that the money devoted to the maintenance of such guards might profitably be devoted to the maintenance of military schools, the cadets being then charged with the duty of mounting guard as might be necessary. A similar project had been carried into effect at the Virginia Military Institute. The Academy was organized upon these lines, and consisted of the Citadel school at Charleston and the Arsenal school at Columbia.

Up to the time of the closing of this academy, in 1864, its graduates numbered two hundred and forty, including four who became brigadier generals. Hugh S. Thompson, the distinguished governor of the state and member of the

¹ *Official Register* of the Institute. Interesting reminiscences of this Institute appear in a recent work, *The end of an era*, by JOHN S. WISE. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1901.)

national Civil Service Commission, was a graduate of the school in the class of 1856.¹

Military education soon came to great popularity in the south, and schools of this sort were multiplied before the breaking out of the Civil War. Our national provision for military education received a much needed rounding-out in the establishment of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, in 1845. This act renders memorable the term of George Bancroft in the office of Secretary of the Navy.²

Another movement which assumed considerable proportions in the earlier half of the nineteenth century was that having for its object the union of studies with manual labor. There was much in the educational thought of the latter half of the eighteenth century which pointed the way to such a movement. The doctrines of Rousseau and the earlier experiments of Pestalozzi suggest themselves at once. But a more immediate prompting came from the labors of Philip Emanuel Fellenberg, sometime companion and fellow-laborer with Pestalozzi.

Fellenberg has been pretty generally forgotten in this country, but two or three generations ago his influence here was very great. Sympathizing as he did with the educational aspiration of Pestalozzi, his character and methods were very different. It is small wonder that the two could not long work together. In 1806 Fellenberg opened an institution at Hofwyl, in Switzerland, for school instruction in combination with manual labor in the field. His students devoted their mornings to study and their afternoons to farming. The Hofwyl Institute continued its op-

¹ MERIWETHER, *Higher education in South Carolina*, ch. 4 ; THOMAS, *History of the South Carolina Military Academy*, passim.

² See SOLEY, *The United States Naval Academy* ; BENJAMIN, *The United States Naval Academy*.

The early history of our Military and Naval Academies overlaps the fields of both secondary and higher education. These earlier institutions, however, led the way to the establishment of a class of military schools of purely secondary grade after the time of the Civil War.

erations for nearly forty years, and commanded the attention of the best men, the world over, who were interested in educational reform.

The name of Fellenberg appears in some American schools which were established within this period, and there can be no doubt that the American movement received much of its impetus directly from Hofwyl. But the sentiment which inspired it did not all emanate from Fellenberg. We find some breathings of it in this country before the close of the eighteenth century, and notably in Judge Phillips' plan for the academy at Andover. It was indeed in the air of both Europe and America at that time.¹

Among the many consequences of the theoretical "return to nature," was the growth of a desire to bring those higher human interests which found expression in art and literature, into touch with the common affairs of life. Men and women who had gone far in the self-conscious "culture" of the age, felt a homesickness for the work-a-day world which they had left behind. Something of this sort is observable in the Brook Farm experiment, in which the notion of a union between education and manual labor found its most interesting embodiment. It is a sentiment oft-recurring in human history, but it never quite found itself till the latter part of the eighteenth century gave it a place in the world of thought.

There was another side to this sentiment. Those who are at home with the plain people of this land, particularly with such as carry into their daily work-of-hands a steady aspiration after the things of the spirit, must have observed among them a habit of thought which has close connection with that noted above: a fine loyalty to their

¹ Eleazar Wheelock had his students who were preparing to become missionaries among the Indians initiated into the practical knowledge of husbandry. *Diary of David McClure*, p. 7. This was in 1764.

At Cokesbury College, located at Abingdon, Maryland (1785-1795), the first Methodist college in the world, the students were not allowed to play, but instead were exercised in agriculture, taken in connection with the reading of Vergil's *Georgics*, and in architecture and gardening. STEINER, *Cokesbury College*, p. 21.

daily associations which prompts them to wish that the higher interests may be found somehow bound up with the actualities of their experience, and not set apart in a separate world. The poems of Robert Burns interpreted this feeling. In their different kinds and degrees, a goodly number of later writers have done such a service in our own generation; while in the domain of art it has found very noble expression in the better work of our modern realists. It can hardly be doubted that this sentiment combined with others to give popularity to the manual labor schools of the first half of the nineteenth century.

It was in the third and fourth decades of that century that the manual-labor education movement was at its height. The survey of *Education and literary institutions*¹ already referred to tells of institutions of this sort at Readfield, Maine (the Maine Wesleyan Seminary), at Manchester, Vermont, at Rochester and Whitestown, New York, at Sergeantville, New Jersey (Mantua Manual Labor Institute), at Wake Forest, North Carolina (projected by Baptists and soon to be opened), at Haymount, North Carolina (a similar institution, founded by the Presbyterians), at Marietta, Ohio, and in various other sections of the country. Provision for manual labor in connection with several colleges is also reported. There seems to have been especial interest in the effort to put theological students at work in field and shop, partly with a view to defraying a portion of the expense of their education, and partly with the thought that they might thus be brought into touch with actualities.

The enthusiasm for manual labor schools subsided in the eighteen-hundred forties, more because of the practical difficulties which the project involved than because of any doubt as to its inherent excellence.² But the idea has not been wholly lost. It has entered into the scheme of agricultural education embodied in the Morrill Act of 1862 — an act through which our national government has profoundly

¹ *Quarterly Register*, May, 1833.

² Cf. MERIWETHER, *Higher education in South Carolina*, p. 51.

influenced the higher education of the country. It has entered also into the manual training movement of later years: a very different movement, to be sure, but one which accomplishes some of the ends which the earlier movement set out to accomplish. And the manual labor school itself has survived or been revived in a few institutions of our own time, as in the Miller Manual Labor School, opened in 1878, in Albemarle County, Virginia.

The Swiss reformers had a large following in this country before influences of a strictly German origin had begun to be widely felt. It was not until the thirties or forties of the nineteenth century that German ideas gained currency here, and the full force of the German example was hardly felt till after the revolutionary disturbances of 1848. Yet some connection with German culture had been established in earlier years.

George Ticknor and Edward Everett had visited Europe, and studied at the University of Göttingen. They brought back something of the German spirit, to the quickening of Harvard College. Joseph Green Cogswell had also gone to Göttingen in 1816, and George Bancroft in 1818. Other travellers gave occasional hints of the German universities and public schools. The first real opening of American eyes to the importance of German educational theory and practice came, however, in the midst of the Educational Revival. The English translation of Victor Cousin's report on Prussian schools was widely circulated in this country. The report of observations at first hand by Calvin E. Stowe (1836), Alexander Dallas Bache (1839), and Horace Mann (1843) greatly deepened this impression. The University of Michigan, under the guidance of President Tappan, availed itself freely of suggestions drawn from the practice of German universities. The German example influenced our elementary schools, not so much in those days by any infusion of German methods, as by the suggestions of German organization and of the German provision for

universality of instruction. In our secondary education, too, there was very little direct imitation of German models, but the stimulus of German excellence began to prick the American spirit of emulation.

There were numerous schools opened during this period under purely private management. Educational ideas, whether European or American in their origin, were playing merrily upon the minds of men. The prompting to educational experiment came out in school undertakings, some of them sane and wholesome, some whimsical, and the most of them full of human interest. Only a few of these private schools can be mentioned here without overcrowding the chapter, and the bare mention must suffice in the case of those referred to.

George Bancroft and Joseph Green Cogswell established the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts, an institution which was intended to transplant into this country the best traditions of the great secondary schools of Germany, France, and England. Some of Fellenberg's ideas, too, had their influence on this undertaking. Bancroft withdrew from the school in 1830, but it was continued under Dr. Cogswell through the six years following. It saw varying fortunes, both educational and financial, but, so long as it lasted, it never sank to the commonplace, never failed to be interesting and significant.¹

The classical school of Mr. Christopher Cotes at Charleston, South Carolina (about 1820 to 1850), filled an important place in the education of that region. Its pupils came from families prominent because of their wealth and social station, and the school came to be regarded as an aristocratic institution. Mr. Cotes was an Englishman, and the

¹ BELLOWS, *The Round Hill School*; COGSWELL and BANCROFT, *Prospectus of a school*. There are delightful notes on this school in DONALD G. MITCHELL'S *American lands and letters*, p. 36 ff.; and in *The life of Joseph Green Cogswell*. Still others are given by Horace E. Scudder in his *Group of classical schools*. See *Harper's Monthly*, LV., p. 705. Mr. Scudder refers to reminiscences in T. G. Appleton's *A sheaf of papers*.

precedents of the English public schools dominated his system of instruction. He could not share the American taste for oratory of the revolutionary type, and such declamation as his boys went through was a perfunctory affair, at least so far as the master was concerned. Thorough instruction in the studies preparatory to college; sound training in algebra under the master himself; the employment of good assistant teachers; French taught by a born Frenchman; the use of philosophical apparatus, including a large telescope; a faithful application, on occasion, of a good birch rod: such are some of the characteristic features of this school, as recalled by Dr. G. E. Manigault.¹

Gideon F. Thayer established the Chauncy Hall School, in the city of Boston, in 1828. This school was projected on an unusually large scale for the time. It is said that division of labor among the several instructors was carried further than in any other private school in New England. Even before this school was opened, Mr. Thayer, in an earlier educational undertaking, had introduced the use of apparatus for physical exercise. The Chauncy Hall School was supported wholly by tuition fees, but many poor boys were educated there free of charge. Mr. Thayer's connection with the school ceased in 1855.²

"The Gunnery" was established by Frederick W. Gunn, at Washington, Connecticut, in the latter part of the eighteen-hundred thirties. There was in it so much of abolitionism and other radical tendencies that it aroused great opposition, and was for a time discontinued. It was reopened in 1847, and had a picturesque and generally remarkable career. Its characteristics, as they were under Mr. Gunn's administration, were set forth by Mr. J. G. Holland in his story of *Arthur Bonnicastle*. Senator O. H. Platt taught for a time with Mr. Gunn; and Henry Ward

¹ MERIWETHER, *Higher education in South Carolina*, pp. 30-37. Dr. Manigault's reminiscences are full of interest. Paul H. Hayne, the poet, was for a time a pupil in this school.

² *Am. Journ. Ed.*, IV., pp. 613-621; CUSHING, *Historical sketch*.

Beecher, Mrs. Stowe, and General John C. Frémont were among the prominent patrons of the Gunnery in its earlier days.¹

A chapter which began with notes on the rise of Catholic schools may fitly close with some account of the founding of Girard College. For this school, though founded by a man of Catholic antecedents, represents in many ways the antithesis of the Catholic view of education. It illustrates the profound movement in American education away from ecclesiastical ideals. And because it set forth the non-ecclesiastical view in perhaps the most extreme embodiment which it had found on American soil, it called forth an extensive controversial literature, and so had its part in shaping educational convictions.

Stephen Girard, "Mariner and Merchant," was a man of the hard-headed, thrifty, and benevolent type that seems in those days to have found its true home in the city of William Penn and Benjamin Franklin. It was early in the revolutionary struggle that Girard came from his French home to Philadelphia, a young man then in his twenties. He soon became one of the influential business men of the town. It is said, but the statement is open to doubt, that he was the first American to become a millionaire. When he died, in 1831, at the age of eighty-one, the estate which he left was valued at not far from \$7,500,000. He set an example, which American millionaires have been remarkably ready to follow, of the devotion of vast sums of money to public education. It is not only the magnitude of his educational endowment, but the marked characteristics of the institution founded upon it, which call for notice in this chapter.

This French-American was familiar with the revolutionary French philosophy of the eighteenth century. Four of his ships were named the Rousseau, the Voltaire, the Helvetius, and the Montesquieu. The secular spirit of this

¹ See STEINER, *Education in Connecticut*, pp. 59-61.

philosophy found in him a ready response. That he was not positively hostile to religion is shown by his contributions to various religious societies. But he was an ardent believer in the American doctrine of religious freedom; and he deplored sectarian controversy. He was in sympathy with that rising sentiment which exalted morals above dogmatic religion. The educational realism of Rousseau and Rousseau's followers fell in with his shrewd common sense; and quite as naturally, he was interested in seeing boys trained up for occupations in which they might earn an honest livelihood.

Such was the man who in addition to legacies to the public schools of Philadelphia and various benevolent institutions already in existence, and in addition to other legacies to relatives and dependents, bequeathed over two million dollars for the founding of an institution devoted to the maintenance and education of poor, male, white, orphan children. The fund was given in trust for this purpose to the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Philadelphia.

The paragraph of the will relating to the studies of the college is of sufficient importance to be given in full. "They shall be instructed," it reads, "in the various branches of a sound education, comprehending reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, navigation, surveying, practical mathematics, astronomy; natural, chemical and experimental philosophy, the French and Spanish languages, (I do not forbid, but I do not recommend the Greek and Latin languages) — and such other learning and science as the capacities of the several scholars may merit or warrant: I would have them taught facts and things, rather than words or signs; and especially, I desire, that by every proper means a pure attachment to our Republican Institutions, and to the sacred rights of conscience, as guaranteed by our happy constitutions, shall be formed and fostered in the minds of the scholars."

The provision for non-ecclesiastical management of the institution is expressed in the following terms:

"I enjoin and require that *no ecclesiastic, missionary, or minister of any sect whatsoever, shall ever hold or exercise any station or duty whatever in the said College; nor shall any such person ever be admitted for any purpose, or as a visitor, within the premises appropriated to the purposes of the said college*:— In making this restriction, I do not mean to cast any reflection upon any sect or person whatsoever; but as there is such a multitude of sects, and such a diversity of opinion amongst them, I desire to keep the tender minds of the orphans, who are to derive advantage from this bequest, free from the excitement which clashing doctrines and sectarian controversy are so apt to produce; my desire is, that all the instructors and teachers in the College, shall take pains to instil into the minds of the scholars, *the purest principles of morality*, so that, on their entrance into active life, they may *from inclination and habit, evince benevolence toward their fellow creatures, and a love of truth, sobriety, and industry*, adopting at the same time, such religious tenets as their *matured reason* may enable them to prefer."

Many difficulties were encountered in getting this unique institution under way. The buildings for its habitation, begun in 1833, were not finished till 1847.¹ The directors appointed under the trust invited Francis Lieber, another eminent immigrant, to draw up a constitution for the proposed college. This commission was executed with great care, after a study of the literature of various educational and eleemosynary institutions of England and the Continent. Professor Lieber recommended that the college be made a polytechnic school and a seminary for the training of teachers; and he urged upon the directors the importance of sending a special commissioner to Europe to make an exami-

¹ Mr. Girard, like Thomas Jefferson, interested himself in plans for the housing of the institution which he founded. He left minute specifications regarding the buildings to be first erected. Mr. Thomas U. Walter, the architect who was entrusted with the carrying out of these plans, succeeded, in spite of the limitations imposed, in producing a very noble group of buildings on classical lines. This is one of the most notable of the earlier attempts in this country to work out an extensive and unitary architectural composition. Mr. Walter was later charged with the remodelling of the Capitol at Washington, a work in which he achieved a magnificent success.

nation in person of such institutions as might throw light upon their undertaking.

In accordance with this suggestion, Alexander Dallas Bache was appointed to the presidency of the college, and was dispatched on a tour of investigation among the leading European countries. Professor Bache devoted two years to this preliminary inquiry. The report of his observations, published soon after his return, was not only of great value to the institution which he represented, but proved also one of the most important of those accounts of European education which did so much toward the great Educational Awakening in America.

The next-of-kin to Stephen Girard made an effort to break the will, so far as it related to the endowment of the college, and their claim was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States. This case was the more notable from the fact that Daniel Webster was of the counsel for the plaintiffs, and the decision of the court was rendered by Justice Joseph Story. The court unanimously sustained the validity of the trust. The next-of-kin had based their claim in part upon the contention that the foundation of a college on such principles and exclusions as Mr. Girard had laid down was derogatory to the Christian religion and therefore void, as being against both the common law and public policy. The court decided against this contention. It held that:

“The exclusion of all ecclesiastics, missionaries, and ministers of any sort from holding and exercising any station or duty in a college, or even visiting the same; or the limitation of the instruction to be given to the scholars, to pure morality, general benevolence, a love of truth, sobriety, and industry; are not so derogatory and hostile to the Christian religion as to make a devise for the foundation of such a college void according to the constitution and laws of Pennsylvania.”¹

¹ *Vidal et al. v. Girard's executors*, 2 Howard 127. The decision was handed down in the January term, 1844.

On New Year's day of 1848 the college was opened, under the presidency of Joel Jones. Its educational organization was under three divisions, namely, primary schools, nos. 1 and 2, and the "principal department." In the department last named, instruction was given in some of the higher branches of an English education, and in the French and Spanish languages.¹

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¹ Description of the Girard College, passim. Semi-centennial of Girard College, passim.

The three titles last given refer to Protestant accounts of the Catholic educational movement, contemporary with an early stage of that movement.

Father Considine (*op. cit.*, p. 5) refers to the expressed purpose of Bishop Spalding of Peoria to secure the preparation of a general history of Catholic education in the United States, and adds that the carrying out of the plan has been committed to Brother Maurelian, F.S.C. It is to be hoped that this design may be carried to a happy completion. Brother Maurelian was manager of the Catholic educational exhibit at the World's Fair of 1893, and compiled an important Catalogue of that exhibit.

On the doctrines and practice of Fellenberg, we have an interesting anonymous volume:

Letters from Hofwyl by a parent, on the educational institutions of de Fellenberg. With an appendix containing Woodbridge's sketches of Hofwyl, reprinted from the *Annals of Education*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842. Pp. 12 + 372.

The writer calls attention to articles on the same subject in vols. XXXI. and XXXII. of the *Edinburgh Review*. See also:

Educational establishment of Mr. de Fellenberg, at Hofwyl. In *Am. Journ. Ed.*, III., pp. 591-596; and

Outline of the normal course of instruction at Hofwyl. *Id.*, XIII., pp. 323-331.

CHAPTER XVI

LATER STATE SYSTEMS

HOWEVER important other educational systems and educational movements may have been, the general trend of the nineteenth century set strongly in the direction of an education under the control of public corporations. There has been another tendency, intimately connected with this. The demand for systems of schools under full public control has carried with it the demand for consecutiveness in our state systems of education, from the lowest grades to the highest. We have been moving toward an ideal somewhat like that of the *Einheitsschule*. We have found ourselves more or less consciously striving toward the standard set up by Huxley when he said, "No system of public education is worth the name of national unless it creates a great educational ladder, with one end in the gutter and the other in the university." These aspirations have come to their most complete expression in states having state universities—but about two-thirds of the states in the Union are of this class. They are aspirations which have grown up with a new ideal of social relations, a new democracy, which in its full development is peculiar to the nineteenth (and the twentieth) century.

We saw that in the old colony days the need of a middle-grade education, except for those intended for college and for one of the learned professions, was not generally recognized. Society was still largely organized on distinct levels. People still spoke of "the quality." That is, the difference between the professional and directive class on the one hand and the common people on the other was apparently accepted as qualitative, in a sense that we hardly realize. The col-

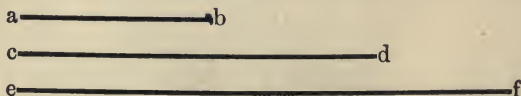
leges, with the grammar schools leading up to them, were for the higher class. The educational provision for the lower classes extended only to schools of elementary grade, and was very scanty and fragmentary at best. Between the two systems there was no organic connection.

The revolutionary period and the years next following saw a gradual breaking up of the earlier social strata, and the rise of a middle class to prominence and influence. The newly recognized educational needs of this class were now met by the academies, especially in such of their courses as did not aim at preparation for college.

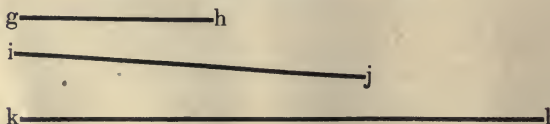
With the advance of nineteenth and twentieth century democracy, the social levels of earlier days have been upset. No one speaks of social classes now, unless it be under his breath. Our present-day society knows no levels: we recognize no generic distinction between its several grades. Its extremes may be much farther apart than were those of an earlier age, but the lowest and the highest occupy their several places in one continuous gradation of social differences.

The lovers of diagrammatic representation, whose number is not at all declining, may find in the following scheme a passable symbol of the change which has taken place:

I. *Colonial society.*



II. *Society of the middle period.*



III. *Society of the later times.*



The old grammar schools were for those on the plane ab and for such as were making their way up to that eminence. The earlier academies were for those on this same plane, now represented by the line gh , but were in particularly intimate connection with the restless middle line ij , which has already lost its sense of the horizontal. The high schools belong out and out to this jostling middle line, which at an early day has imposed its own slanting disposition on the other members of the scheme. There is little need to add that the diagram at best can tell but a small part of the story; or to raise the insistent question of our time: After the line mn , what next?

This brief survey of social change may help us a little to understand some things which have a bearing on our subject. It suggests one cause of that extreme restlessness which characterizes our modern society. On this social inclined plane, whoever is not on his way to the top is perforce on his way to the bottom. Our systems of education have gradually adjusted themselves to such a state of things. There has appeared accordingly a widespread purpose to link our schools together from the lowest to the highest; to put every kindergarten and primary school on a line which leads, without by-way or break, straight up to the university.

This purpose has come only gradually to full consciousness; but in the course of a century the ideal proposed in the Indiana state constitution of 1816 has become the characteristic aim of American educational organization: "A general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township [district] schools to a state university wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all." Such a purpose has found repeated expression, not only in the educational schemes of our statesmen and teachers, but in legislative enactments. A few citations will serve for illustration.

The legislature of Tennessee declared, in 1817, that, "Institutions of learning, both academies and colleges, should ever be under the fostering care of this legislature, and in

their connection with each other form a complete system of education.”¹

Thomas Jefferson, replying to the charge that he was pushing university education to the neglect of the elementary schools, wrote to Mr. Cabell:

“Nobody can doubt my zeal for the *general instruction* of the people. Who first started that idea? I may surely say myself. Turn to the bill in the revised code which I drew more than forty years ago, and before which the idea of a plan for the education of the people generally had never been suggested in this State. There you will see developed the first rudiments of the whole system of general education we are now urging and acting on; and it is well known to those with whom I have acted on this subject that I have never proposed a sacrifice of the primary to the ultimate grade of instruction. Let us keep our eye *steadily on the whole system*.”

President Henry P. Tappan, of the University of Michigan, presented a statesmanlike report to the regents of that institution, in 1856, in which he discussed the “true position” of the university, “and its relation to our entire system of public education.”² He said:

“An entire system of public education comprises three grades and can comprise but three grades: the primary, the intermediate, and the university. . . . The primary school comes first. . . . All human learning begins with the alphabet. . . .

“The second grade occupies the period of youth — of adolescence or growth. This is the period when the foundations of knowledge and character can be most amply and securely laid. . . .

“But let it be remembered that the intermediate grade embraces only the apprenticeship of the scholar. . . . Hence the necessity of universities, as the highest form of educational institutions.”³ . . .

¹ Quoted by BLACKMAR, *Federal and state aid*, p. 265.

² The text of this report may be found in Superintendent Ira Mayhew's *Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan for the years 1855-6-7: with accompanying documents*. Lansing, 1858, pp. 155-184.

³ President Tappan's definition of a university, which follows this paragraph, is significant. It marks a great change from the view of a college

"The highest institutions are necessary to supply the proper standard of education ; to raise up instructors of the proper qualifications ; to define the principles and methods of education. . . .

"Nothing is more evident than that the three grades of education — the primary, the intermediate, the university — are all alike necessary. The one cannot exist, in perfection, without the others ; they imply one another. . . .

"It is to the honor of Michigan that she has conceived of a complete system of public education running through the three grades we have discussed above. Nor do these grades exist merely in name. She has established the primary grade of schools and made them well nigh free. She has laid the foundation of an institution which admits of being expanded to a true university. In former days she had her 'branches' belonging to the intermediate grade ; and now we see rising up those invaluable institutions, the 'union schools,' belonging to the same grade. We say not that legislation has adequately reached the entire system, or made provision for its development ; but the idea of the entire system is abroad among the people ; it has not been absent from our legislation ; it has appeared in the reports of superintendents and visitors, and in other documents ; and the people, at this moment, unaided by any special appropriation, are organizing above the district school, the best schools of the intermediate grade, less than a college, which have yet existed among us ; and are erecting large, tasteful, and convenient edifices for their accommodation. These ideas, spontaneously working in the minds of the people, these spontaneous efforts to create schools of a higher grade must determine future legislation, and indicate the grand point to which our educational development is tending."

It is this large conception of education as one great public interest, from the lowest schools to the highest, which we need as a background for any consideration of the development of state systems of secondary education. We have already looked into the establishment of those state systems in which the educational unit was the presented by President Clap, of Yale College, in the eighteenth century. President Tappan says, "A university is a collection of finished scholars in every department of human knowledge, associated for the purpose of advancing and communicating knowledge." — *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

academy. Such systems belong to the latter part of the eighteenth and the earlier half of the nineteenth century. The great movement in the establishment of state systems which make the high school their unit, belongs to the period following the Civil War. But highly important pioneering had been done at a period much earlier than this.

The first general provision for anything answering to our idea of a high school, which has thus far come to light, was contained in the Connecticut law of 1798. Previous to this time, the requirement that each of the county towns should support a grammar school had been in force. This requirement was now discontinued. In its place, a provision was adopted to the effect that any school society (district) might by a two-thirds vote establish a higher school, "the object of which shall be to perfect the youth admitted therein in reading and penmanship, to instruct them in the rudiments of English grammar, in composition, in arithmetic, and geography, or, on particular desire, in the Latin and Greek languages, also in the first principles of religion and morality, and in general to form them for usefulness and happiness in the various relations of social life."¹ This law seems to contemplate, not a high school proper, but rather a mixed institution—an advanced primary or English grammar school for the most of the pupils, and a Latin grammar school for a select few.

A similar provision had been adopted two years earlier for the first school society of Farmington, Connecticut, but Latin and Greek were not included in its list of studies. This was to be a central school, supported by a *pro rata* assessment on the public moneys assigned to the several districts into which the society might be divided.²

In Massachusetts, as we have seen, the law requiring grammar schools in the towns was so far weakened, in 1824, that towns having a population of less than five thousand were allowed to substitute for such school an elementary school, if the people should so determine by vote at a public elec-

¹ *Rept. Comr. Ed. for 1892-93, II., pp. 1253-54.*

² *Id.*, p. 1255.

tion. This is the low-water mark of public school sentiment in Massachusetts, with reference to the secondary grade of instruction. In 1826 it was enacted that every town having five hundred families should provide a master to give instruction in the history of the United States, book-keeping, geometry, surveying, and algebra, and every town having four thousand inhabitants, a master capable of giving instruction in Latin and Greek, history, rhetoric, and logic.¹ This act has seen some vicissitudes since its first adoption, but it marks the beginning of continuous provision in Massachusetts for a state system of high schools.

It is difficult to trace the early statutory provisions for high schools in many of the states. At the time when the older schools of this sort were coming into being, special legislation was not held in such disfavor as in more recent times. — The high schools, as institutions of the municipalities, were often erected under special statutes and charters framed for each city separately, without reference to any general enactment, or even to any general principle. — Their legal history must be sought for in the maze of such legislation. Yet it will not be forgotten that through just such devious ways a general policy of the states with reference to such institutions was gradually built up.

In some instances a measure drawn in the first place for a single community found so great favor that it was made the model for statutes framed for the benefit of other communities, or even for general enactments. For example, the "Akron law," passed by the Ohio legislature in 1847, provided for a graded school system in the city of Akron, including a "central grammar school," which was in reality a high school. The provisions of this act were immediately extended to the city of Dayton, and in 1848 to every incorporated town or city in the state, whenever two-thirds of the qualified voters should petition the town or city council in favor of such extension.²

¹ *Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, ch. 143, sec. 1.

² *A history of education in the state of Ohio*, pp. 113, 114.

In 1848 the third district in Somersworth, New Hampshire, was empowered by the legislature to establish and maintain a high school. Later in the same year, the provisions of this act were extended to all school districts which might adopt it in regular form; and it was further enacted "that any school district, when the number of scholars should exceed 100, might vote to keep such high school or schools as the interests of education might require."¹

Other general enactments appear at a comparatively early date. They were, however, permissive in their provisions, and not compulsory as was the Massachusetts law. State Superintendent Benton, of Iowa, recommended graded or "union" schools in 1848; and legal permission for the organization of higher grades in the public schools of that state was granted in 1849. In 1857 more ample provision was made for the higher schools, "provided that no other language than the English shall be taught therein, except with the concurrence of two-thirds" of the board of education. The general school law of 1858 authorized county high schools.²

The first school law of California, adopted in 1851, provided for the establishment of high schools by any city, town, or village having more than four hundred scholars, on petition of two-thirds of the legal voters within such district, or by two school districts which might unite for this purpose while remaining separate in other respects. Not more than one-fourth of the state and county moneys received by any district might be expended for the support of such high schools. Districts were authorized also to tax themselves for the support of schools of this grade, but might not expend for this purpose more than one-fourth of the whole amount raised by local taxation for schools. High schools were required under this act to teach, in addition to the studies of the grammar schools, "bookkeeping, surveying, drawing, music, political economy, Greek and Latin, equal

¹ BUSH, *History of education in New Hampshire*, p. 19.

² PARKER, *Higher education in Iowa*, pp. 27, 31, 37.

to that what [sic] ^{SICK} is ^{Yale, and you?} required for admission into college, Spanish and French."¹ These provisions were soon supplanted by others less liberal in character, but the early school legislation of the state generally made a way for public schools of this grade.

In New York the general school law of 1864 authorized the board of education of any "union free school district to establish in the same an academical department whenever, in their judgment, the same is warranted by the demand for such instruction." Such academical departments were made subject to the board of regents in all matters pertaining to their course of education, and were to enjoy such privileges in the university as had been granted to the academies. Provision was made for the formal adoption of existing academies by boards of education, and the transference of institutions so adopted from private to public control.²

In Maryland the old state academy system was swept away by a law of 1865, and a system of county high schools substituted for it. But the change was too radical to be fully carried out. Later legislation provided for the renewal of state aid to academies, which continued to exist alongside of the system of county high schools.³

While such early and liberal enactments may be found in a few of the states, in others high schools were established in large numbers without explicit warrant of law. The school law of these states commonly provided in general terms that the studies to be pursued should be determined by the local board of school trustees or directors. A minimum list of studies was sometimes prescribed in the statute; and it was commonly held that the school board might provide for the teaching of other subjects, including such as were distinctly of secondary grade.

Objection was made repeatedly to this practice. As was

¹ *California statutes*, 1851, ch. 126, art. 5, secs. 3, 6, 7, 8; art. 7, sec. 2.

² HOUGH, *Historical and statistical record of the University of the State of New York*, pp. 28, 29.

³ SOLLERS, *Secondary education in the state of Maryland* (Chapter 2 of STEINER's *History of education in Maryland*), pp. 66-68.

Maryland

seen in the history of the school system of Virginia,¹ the secondary school is the one grade of instruction which has the most precarious hold on public support. The question as to the authority of local boards to establish high schools without express statutory provision for such schools, was finally decided in the affirmative by the supreme court of Michigan in the case of Charles E. Stuart *et al. vs.* School District No. 1 of the village of Kalamazoo, commonly known as the Kalamazoo high school case. Inasmuch as this case established the precedent for similar cases in other states, while setting the question at rest for the state of Michigan, it is of great importance in the annals of our secondary education. The opinion of the court was prepared by the eminent jurist, Thomas M. Cooley. The right of a school board to employ a superintendent of schools was involved in the case, and this also was affirmed by the court. The decision in this case illustrates admirably the strong tendency which we have noted, in our educational history, toward a complete system of schools, largely supported by taxation, and under public control. It seems fitting for this reason that space be devoted here to the following somewhat extended passages from the opinion rendered by the court:²

“The bill in this case is filed to restrain the collection of such portion of the school taxes assessed against complainants for the year 1872, as have been voted for the support of the high school in that village, and for the payment of the salary of the superintendent. While, nominally, this is the end sought to be attained by the bill, the real purpose of the bill is wider and vastly more comprehensive than this brief statement would indicate, inasmuch as it seeks a judicial determination of the right of school authorities, in what are called union school districts of the state, to levy taxes upon the general public for the support of what in this state are

¹ See p. 208, note 2.

² 30 *Michigan* 69. The text of the decision appears, but in badly mangled form, in the *Report* of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Michigan for the year 1874.

known as high schools, and to make free by such taxation the instruction of children in other languages than the English."

Certain bearings of the case, which are of local rather than general interest, are discussed at considerable length. The court then continues :

"The more general question which the record presents we shall endeavor to state in our own language, but so as to make it stand out distinctly as a naked question of law, disconnected from all considerations of policy or expediency, in which light alone we are at liberty to consider it. It is, as we understand it, that there is no authority in this state to make the high schools free by taxation levied on the people at large. The argument is that while there may be no constitutional provision expressly prohibiting such taxation, the general course of legislation in the state and the general understanding of the people have been such as to require us to regard the instruction in the classics and in the living modern languages in these schools as in the nature not of practical and therefore necessary instruction for the benefit of the people at large, but rather as accomplishments for the few, to be sought after in the main by those best able to pay for them, and to be paid for by those who seek them, and not by general tax. And not only has this been the general state policy, but this higher learning of itself, when supplied by the state, is so far a matter of private concern to those who receive it that the courts ought to declare it incompetent to supply it wholly at the public expense. This is in substance, as we understand it, the position of the complainants in this suit.

"When this doctrine was broached to us, we must confess to no little surprise that the legislation and policy of our state were appealed to against the right of the state to furnish a liberal education to the youth of the state in schools brought within the reach of all classes. We supposed it had always been understood in this state that education, not merely in the rudiments, but in an enlarged sense, was regarded as an important practical advantage to be supplied at their option to rich and poor alike, and not as something pertaining merely to culture and accomplishment to be brought as such within the reach of those whose accumulated

wealth enabled them to pay for it. As this, however, is now so seriously disputed, it may be necessary, perhaps, to take a brief survey of the legislation and general course, not only of the state, but of the antecedent territory, on the subject."

The review of the educational history of Michigan which follows is full of interest. It includes a consideration of the educational provision contained in the ordinance of 1787; the act of 1817 for the establishment of the "Catholepistemiad or University of Michigania;" the university act of 1821, which repealed that of 1817, but instituted a university with power "to establish colleges, academies, and schools depending upon the said university;" the act of 1827, "for the establishment of common schools," which followed very closely the early state and colonial school legislation of Massachusetts; the law of 1833, which neither required nor prohibited the establishment of a higher grade of school; the constitution of 1835, which provided for a state university with branch schools, and "contemplated provision by the state for a complete system of instruction, beginning with that of the primary school and ending with that of the university;" the proposal of State Superintendent Pierce for a system of public instruction based on the systems of Prussia and New England, and intended to furnish in the common schools "good instruction in all the elementary and common branches of knowledge, for all classes of [the] community, *as good, indeed, for the poorest boy of the state as the rich man can furnish for his children with all his wealth*;" the discontinuance of the branches of the university, and the growth of the union schools, which in some measure took their place; and finally, the constitution of 1850. Of this last-named document, the court remarks that,

"The instrument submitted by the convention to the people and adopted by them provided for the establishment of free schools in every school district for at least three months in each year, and for the university. By the aid of these we have every

reason to believe the people expected a complete collegiate education might be obtained. . . . The inference seems irresistible that the people expected the tendency towards the establishment of high schools in the primary-school districts would continue until every locality capable of supporting one was supplied. And this inference is strengthened by the fact that a considerable number of our union schools date their establishment from the year 1850 and the two or three years following."

The opinion of the court as to the legality of the high school is finally summed up in the following words:

"If these facts do not demonstrate clearly and conclusively a general state policy, beginning in 1817 and continuing until after the adoption of the present constitution, in the direction of free schools in which education, and at their option the elements of classical education, might be brought within the reach of all the children of the state, then, as it seems to us, nothing can demonstrate it. We might follow the subject further and show that the subsequent legislation has all concurred with this policy, but it would be a waste of time and labor. We content ourselves with the statement that neither in our state policy, in our constitution, or in our laws, do we find the primary school districts restricted in the branches of knowledge which their officers may cause to be taught, or the grade of instruction that may be given, if their voters consent in regular form to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose."

One of the most notable decisions following the finding of the Michigan court in this case was that of the supreme court of Illinois in the case of *H. W. Powell et al. vs. the Board of Education, etc.*, which virtually established the position of the high schools of Illinois in the public school system of that state.¹

About the time when the Kalamazoo case was in the

¹ In England the board schools have shown of late a tendency to push up into the higher grades of instruction, much as the common schools of this country have done. A case analogous to the Kalamazoo high school case has come up recently in an English court, and an adverse decision has been rendered.

courts, some of the later state systems of secondary education were beginning to take definite shape; and long-established systems began also to take on new activity. Before turning attention to the systems then newly organized, it will be well to note the later developments in Massachusetts and New York, for in their different directions these states have taken the lead in the movement of recent times.

Massachusetts has led the way in the making of such provision that an education of secondary grade is open, free of charge, to every boy and girl in the commonwealth. Other states have followed Massachusetts in this matter, and it appears that one of the most distinctive marks of the high school system-making of the past few years, is the conscious effort to make free secondary education accessible to all. The Massachusetts law making this liberal provision dates from 1891. The extension of high school privileges has run parallel with the consolidation of the less populous school districts, and the extension of regular supervision to all portions of the state.

According to a recent report (1898) there were 353 towns in Massachusetts, of which number 185 had each a population large enough to bring it under the legal obligation to maintain a high school of its own. Seventy others maintained high schools, though not required to do so by the education act. All others, not maintaining high schools of their own, were required, under the law of 1891, to pay the tuition fees of qualified students, living within their limits, who should go elsewhere for instruction of high school grade. The school authorities of such towns were further authorized, but not required, to pay the cost of transporting such students to and from the schools which they might attend.

In order to carry this scheme into effect, it was found necessary to extend aid to the poorer towns from the treasury of the state. The distribution of state moneys appropriated to this use is conditioned upon a direct inquiry into the educational facilities of different portions of the

state by agents of the Board of Education. So it happens that this board, which in the days of Horace Mann sustained an advisory relation only to the schools, has seen a considerable increase in its administrative powers.

The high schools of the state are required to maintain each a four-year course, of forty weeks to the year. They must prepare their students for admission to the state normal schools, and to higher scientific schools and colleges. According to the report of the Board of Education presented to the legislature of the state in January, 1902, there were 261 of these high schools. In them nearly 1,500 teachers are employed. All but nine of these schools were kept from nine to ten months in the year, but many of them fell short of the full ten months. In 1897 Massachusetts paid \$12,390,638 for public schools, of which amount \$2,400,000, or 19 per cent, was for high schools. The total municipal tax in the state that year was \$15.23 on each \$1,000 of property valuation. Of this, \$4.72 was for public schools, \$0.91 of which was for high schools. These figures include the cost of school buildings along with the current expense for school maintenance.¹

If (the University of the State of New York) had a rather vague existence in the earlier days, there has been no doubt of its place among the actualities in more recent times. The spirit of organized activity has been at work in the institution, with all the stirring, straining, and collision of diverse purposes which commonly attend that spirit's operation. The strongly centralized administration which this unique establishment embodies has been railed at and glorified, but it has gone on organizing, and organizing still more, until it has become a force to be reckoned with in the making of our higher grades of instruction. (It can hardly be doubted that this university now presents the most thoroughly organized state system of secondary education which has yet been developed on American soil.

¹ MARTIN, *Massachusetts public school system*, lecture 5. HILL, *How far the public high school is a just charge upon the public treasury. Reports of the Board of Education.*

Five of the six departments into which the work of the university is divided may be disregarded in a study of secondary education. We are here concerned only with the high school department, which has to do with high schools and academies, and the interests of secondary education generally.

The college and the high school department of the university are under a single department director. He is assisted by nine inspectors of schools, one of whom is employed as an inspector of apparatus, and by a large staff of examiners. On the basis of reports made to this department, the regents distributed in 1901 a total of \$292,311.81 to the secondary schools of the state. Formerly a portion of the money distributed by the regents was apportioned on the basis of credentials obtained by pupils in the schools who had passed regents' examinations — a method, that is, of "payment by results." The report of the director of the high school department for 1898 says of the examinations;

"In June, 1898, the secretary stated to the regents that 10 years' experience had confirmed his views, given to the board in 1889, that examinations have the highest educational value and that the small minority which would abolish them are extremists. It is believed, however, that these tests would be more valuable if they were used for their educational value and not at all as a guide in distributing public money. Inspection will enable us in most cases to determine satisfactorily without regents' examinations whether a school is maintaining a standard deserving aid from state funds."

In accordance with this recommendation the method of payment by results has been discontinued and apportionments are now made as follows: (a) \$100 is allowed to each school approved by the regents without regard to its size or special attainments; (b) a sum not exceeding \$250 for the purchase of approved books and apparatus is allowed to each school raising for the same purpose an equal amount from local sources; (c) the balance of the fund is distributed

on the basis of total attendance of academic students, provided that each student whose attendance is so counted must hold a "regents' preliminary certificate" for admission to the school, or the school must have been approved by two university inspectors, as having a higher entrance requirement than the minimum prescribed for the preliminary certificate. Of the \$350,000 appropriated for this purpose under the present laws, about 20 per cent will be distributed under item (a), about 15 per cent under item (b), and about 65 per cent under item (c).

Regents' examinations are held in January and June in seventy-three subjects, covering all the courses in the high school curriculum, and in March in twenty-six subjects only. In 1901 these examinations were taken by 699 of the 741 secondary schools in the university. Each diploma issued by the regents to a graduate of a secondary school shows on its face the subjects in which its holder has passed regents' examinations. These diplomas are accepted in lieu of entrance examinations in the subjects which they cover by institutions of higher education not only in New York state but also generally throughout the United States. . As the regents' preliminary examinations furnish the standard for admission to the secondary schools, their influence extends to all the lower grades, and large numbers of pupils from the ungraded rural schools take these tests in the neighboring high schools and academies.

A syllabus is issued by the regents for the guidance of instruction in university institutions. There is free consultation between the officers of the university and the instructors in the schools with reference to the contents of this syllabus. An annual university convocation, in which the representatives of all divisions of the university meet for public discussion, forms one of the notable educational gatherings of the country.¹

¹ I am indebted to Mr. James Russell Parsons, Jr., secretary of the University, for his courtesy in placing the latest statistics collected by his office at my disposal. The standard histories of the University are those of HUGH and SHERWOOD.

One of the first state systems of secondary education to be organized after the Civil War was that of Indiana. This, however, was virtually an "accrediting" arrangement, the administration of which was turned over to the state authorities. It may more conveniently be considered when we come to an examination of the rise of the accrediting system.

The Wisconsin system of free high schools was established in 1875. It provides for the maintenance of high schools by towns, incorporated villages, cities, or school districts containing incorporated villages or two-department graded schools within their limits. Two or more adjoining towns, or one or more towns and an incorporated village, may unite in establishing and maintaining a high school. These schools are managed by local high school boards, which are commonly, but not always, identical with the boards for elementary schools. They are supported primarily by local taxation, but a district is entitled to receive from the general fund of the state a sum not exceeding one-half the amount actually expended for instruction in the high school of such district, and not exceeding five hundred dollars in any one year; provided the school has been kept in accordance with certain requirements prescribed by law, and provided further that the total amount paid from the state treasury for this purpose in any one year shall not exceed \$100,000.

Such a school is under the direct inspection and oversight of the state superintendent. To receive state aid, a school must establish and maintain a course of study prescribed, or at least approved, by that official; and must be taught by teachers whose certificates he has approved. The state superintendent issues a manual for the guidance of these schools, containing general suggestions, courses of study, an outline of subjects and methods of instruction, and the text of the high school law. He is assisted in the visitation and supervision which the law prescribes by an inspector of free high schools, whom he appoints.

An effort has been made in Wisconsin to encourage the

building up of township high schools in the less thickly settled portions of the state. This undertaking has thus far met with only a moderate degree of success. In the cities and towns of Wisconsin, the high schools are going steadily forward, under the system of state supervision. Within the past few years many of them have been housed in fine, new buildings, which are provided with excellent laboratories for instruction in the natural sciences. Important beginnings have been made also in the equipment of schools for courses in manual training. State aid, to the amount of \$250 a year for any one school, is extended to such courses under special provisions of the high school law. There are now (spring of 1902) eight schools receiving such special aid; while the whole number of state-aided high schools in the state is 222. Of these forty-eight have a three-year course, and the remainder a course four years in length.

A large proportion of the schools having four-year courses are accredited to the University of Wisconsin. The accrediting system was introduced by the university in 1878, and is carried on independently of the state system of inspection. About a dozen of the largest and strongest high schools in the state are not included among those receiving state aid.

The courses of study in these Wisconsin schools are commonly designated as the English, the general science, the modern classical, and the ancient classical course. A given school will ordinarily establish the English course at first, and add the others from time to time in the order in which they have been named.

Wisconsin took an important step in the passage of an act in the winter of 1901-02 providing for county schools of agriculture and domestic economy. These are to be secondary schools, having at the outset a two-year course of study. State aid to the amount of \$2,500 is to be granted to each school established under the provisions of this law and approved by the state superintendent. Two such schools will be organized in the fall of 1902.

"A line of work in elements of agriculture may run through the entire two years; another line in manual training for the boys, covering the use of wood-working tools, elementary blacksmithing, and including some work in the architecture of farm buildings will be given. Such high school studies as will be most profitable, and as can be carried in connection with the other subjects will also be taken. For the girls, a line of work in domestic science will run through the entire two years. They will also be given some manual training, and some instruction in horticulture and floriculture. They will take the same academic studies as the boys."¹

Minnesota has maintained a state system of high schools since 1881. At the head of this system stands the State High School Board, consisting of the superintendent of public instruction, the president of the University of Minnesota, and a city superintendent appointed by the governor. This board appoints a high school inspector and a graded school inspector. Any public high school in the state may become a state high school. Such schools, to the number of not more than seven in any one county, are entitled to receive each the sum of \$1,000 annually from the treasury of the state.

A state high school must admit students of either sex from any part of the state without charge for tuition, must provide a course of study covering the requirements for admission to the University of Minnesota, and must be subject to the rules and open to the inspection of the high school board. This board determines, on the basis of the reports of its inspector, what schools are entitled to the bounty of the state. Provision is also made for state graded schools, of lower rank than the state high schools; and for the promotion of such schools to the rank of state high schools when they have attained a suitable degree of advancement.

The state high school board conducts annually a written examination of classes in the schools. The taking of this

¹ Letter from State Superintendent L. D. HARVEY, to whom I am indebted for recent statistics of the Wisconsin system. Mr. Harvey published a valuable *Report* on schools of agriculture and manual training, in 1901.

state examination is ordinarily optional with the school, and no grants of money are based on examination results. The state board may, however, require a school to take an examination as part of the annual inspection. "The main purpose of state examinations," as set forth by the inspector of high schools in his report for 1898, "is not to test the students, but to promote the general efficiency of the schools." All state high schools are fully "accredited" by the university and the normal schools of the state, whether they have taken the examination or not.

One interesting provision of the Minnesota law is that under which laboratory apparatus for the high schools is made at the state prison and sold to the schools at cost. But perhaps the most significant thing about the whole system is the encouragement it gives to high schools in the smaller towns. Communities all over the state tax themselves freely to supplement the bounty distributed by the state high school board. There are now (spring of 1902) 129 of these high schools. The number is steadily increasing, and is expected to come near to 140 by the close of the current school year.

Other state systems are slowly taking form. Already there are noteworthy enactments relating to secondary education in the statutes of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Louisiana, Illinois, Nebraska, Kansas, California, and several other states. From the simple provision, usually found in state school laws, that the school authorities in districts of sufficient size may extend the course of instruction in their schools beyond the range of the elementary branches, various states are going on to encourage the establishment of the higher schools by larger administrative units, and by union districts entered into for this express purpose by contiguous smaller districts. Special state funds are made available for the reinforcement of local enterprise in this matter; and with the distribution of state funds goes some form of state inspection. Special provision is making for the encouragement of instruction in "domestic science"

and in commercial and technical branches. Care is taken that even the more sparsely settled regions shall have schools which prepare students for admission to normal schools, colleges, and universities. The requirement of high qualifications on the part of teachers who aspire to high school positions, still lags behind other lines of this forward movement, but even in this particular progress may be noted.

Massachusetts stands nearly if not quite alone in its requirement that high schools shall be established in all towns having a specified population. Such a requirement, however, is now of minor importance when communities all over the land are showing great zeal in the establishment of such schools apart from any legal prescription. The later requirement in Massachusetts that free secondary instruction shall be made accessible to every boy and girl who is ready for such instruction, has set up a new standard for all of our states, the influence of which may be seen in much of our recent legislation.

NOTE

It is important that those who are seeking to secure legislation for the improvement of high schools in the several states should become familiar with the history of recent movements of a similar character in other parts of the country. Perhaps the simplest way to get a comprehensive view of this movement is to read the *summary papers on the Early Co* Digest of public school laws. Rept. Comr. Ed., 1893-94, ch. 9, pp. 1063-1300 ;

and in connection with this the annual

Comparative summary and index of legislation, published by the University of the State of New York (Albany).

These summaries make it easy to discover the states in which important education bills have been passed, and facilitate the search for the text of such laws in the session acts of the several legislatures. Beginning with the year 1901, a supplemental bulletin is issued under the title, *Review of legislation*.

[Note to second edition : The priority ascribed above to Massachusetts, in the making of free secondary education open to all, may probably be claimed with fairness by Minnesota.]

CHAPTER XVII

RECENT TENDENCIES

THE study of the more recent tendencies in our secondary education, leads us, almost before we are aware, into a consideration of our present educational status. In the chapters which follow, as in that just finished, the history of movements is mingled freely with accounts of present-day conditions. So enormous is the mass of facts which presents itself for review in this place that only a very superficial and selective survey can be taken.

In general, we may say that the later movements have been mainly directed toward the better adjustment of our secondary schools (*a*) to schools above them and below; (*b*) to the changing needs of American life; and (*c*) to the individual capacities of the students found in those schools.

These movements have been dominated by the American aspiration after completeness and consecutiveness in the organization of educational institutions; by the determination, that is, that there shall be no *cul-de-sac* in the educational systems of the republic, but that instead every child, to the remotest district of our land, shall find the humble school of his neighborhood opening up into the higher schools, and so on up into the highest universities. This aspiration has led to some incongruities. Nevertheless, there is in it a lofty idealism and an inspiring greatness of purpose. We may justly regard it as one of the great, formative influences at work in the making of the American character.

In our public school systems the gap which has been bridged with the greatest difficulty is that between the high

schools and the colleges. The high schools were, as has been shown, an outgrowth of the elementary schools. Their relations with the schools below them have presented serious problems, which have called forth much discussion and made readjustment necessary; and the end of all this surely is not yet. But the relations of the high schools with the colleges have been different, and very much more difficult.

✓ We take for our point of departure the period of the Civil War, or let us say a time not far from the middle of the nineteenth century. In the most of the leading states of the east, the chief, or indeed the only, provision for higher education was in institutions managed by private corporations. In many of the newer states there were growing up universities under full state control. The growth of state universities was greatly accelerated by grants of land made under the Morrill act of 1862. But these universities were supported out of funds separate from those devoted to the common schools, and were controlled by separate administrative boards. The requirements for admission to higher institutions of either sort were determined by the college faculties, with only incidental reference to the purely educational problems confronting the secondary schools. The fitness of candidates for admission was determined by an examination, conducted at the college, by college instructors, and covering the requirements which the college had prescribed.

This system, to be sure, possessed great advantages. It compelled every school which would prepare students for a given college to come up to a definite scholastic standard imposed upon it from without. It exercised no authority over the schools, but exerted an influence which a preparatory school could not escape. Besides, the standard set for classes preparing for college had an indirect influence on classes in the same school which were pursuing other lines of study. So the most powerful single agency affecting the course and the methods of instruction in the better secondary

schools was for many years the entrance examinations of the several colleges.

But there were evils attendant upon this system. When the excellence of a four-year course of school instruction was tested by a single examination at the end of the course; this examination being conducted by the instructors in another, and often a remote institution, with sole reference to the plans and purposes of that institution; it was inevitable that the lower school should become merely tributary in all essential particulars to the higher. The college examination was the chief end and aim of much of the work in the best courses offered by our secondary schools. There appeared a marked tendency to substitute a cramming process for real educational procedure. Teachers in secondary schools were too largely turned aside from the independent investigation of the essential problems of secondary education, to more petty inquiries as to the exact nature of the entrance examinations at certain colleges. It is clear that such a state of things did not answer to the organic continuity of instruction which American social conditions seemed to demand; yet with all of the efforts at improvement put forth in recent years it has even now been remedied only in part.

A change was, however, slowly coming over the entrance requirements of our colleges. Up to the time of the Civil War, eight "subjects" had found a place in the requirements of different institutions for admission to the regular, classical course, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. These subjects were Latin, Greek, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, algebra, geometry, and ancient history. Within the short space of six years, six new subjects were added to this list. These new subjects are enumerated as follows, with the time and the institution at which each made its first appearance:

Modern history (United States), Michigan	1869
Physical geography, Michigan and Harvard	1870
English composition, Princeton	1870

Physical science, Harvard	1872
English literature "	1874
Modern (foreign) language, Harvard	1875 ¹

Another and more extensive change affecting admission requirements was the framing of alternative courses by the colleges, parallel with the classical course, and leading to some other baccalaureate than that in arts. A few scattered experiments with such parallel courses were made before the year 1850, but it was in the third quarter of the nineteenth century that this movement first became general. The following table is intended to show when such courses were first offered, in some prominent institutions, as leading to an academic degree, and takes no account of those subsidiary courses which were sometimes offered with no promise of a degree attached. In each of the cases here indicated, the degree was either that of Bachelor of Philosophy or that of Bachelor of Science:

Brown, 1851, Ph.B.	Michigan, 1853, B.S.
Harvard (Lawrence), 1851, B.S.	Columbia, 1864, Ph.B.
Yale (Sheffield), 1852, Ph.B.	Cornell, 1868, Ph.B., B.S.
Dartmouth, 1852, B.S.	Amherst, 1872, B.S.
Rochester, 1852, B.S.	Princeton, 1873, B.S.

The requirements for admission to these courses generally omitted Greek, and included in its stead some other subject or subjects from the "modern" side. As time has gone on, these requirements have become much more flexible. Such changes not only tended to the broadening out of the standard, classical course in the secondary schools, but they opened up also the prospect of college education to those who were pursuing other courses than the classical. The

¹ In this and the following account of changes in admission requirements, I am following DR. BROOME's manuscript, already referred to. Dr. Broome has not extended his inquiry to all of the colleges, and there may have been instances of the introduction of some of these requirements at an earlier date than is here given, in some less prominent institutions.

range of direct college influence in the schools became accordingly greater.

If the high schools had kept to the purpose originally proposed for the English Classical School at Boston, they would not have been affected by the earlier changes in college admission requirements. But the high schools gravitated toward the colleges, as the academies had done before them. None of the many protests raised against this movement could check it for any length of time. It was, in fact, a thoroughly American movement. It answered to that broad, American logic which maintained that since any youth might rise to the highest offices, every youth should have the opportunity offered to him of rising to the highest education.

The high schools, too, like the early academies, have exercised some little influence on the colleges. There can be no doubt that, at a later period, college entrance requirements were somewhat modified by the desire of the higher institutions to meet the secondary schools half-way.

The problem as it presented itself to those who laid the general interests of education to heart was this: How might a more vital relationship be established between the secondary schools and the colleges, with a view to conserving the highest educational efficiency of both institutions? One of the earliest and most notable attempts at its solution is the so-called accrediting system, introduced by the University of Michigan in 1871. Under this arrangement, a university admits to its freshman class without examination, such graduates of approved secondary schools as are especially recommended for that purpose by the principals of those schools. The system has met with great favor and has had widespread application. The United States Commissioner of Education reported in 1896 that there were then 42 state universities and agricultural and mechanical colleges, and about 150 other institutions in which it had been adopted.¹

It depends upon a purely voluntary agreement between

¹ *Rept. Comr. Ed.*, 1894-95, II., pp. 1171-1188.

the secondary schools and the higher institutions. The college or university satisfies itself that the secondary school applying for such recognition is properly taught. Usually a committee of the faculty is sent to inspect the school, and the school agrees to submit itself to such inspection. Commonly, too, students admitted on school credentials are understood to be on probation during the first term of their college course. It is the school rather than the individual that is examined; and the inquiry relates chiefly to the vitality, intelligence, and general effectiveness of the instruction.

Hardly any two institutions follow exactly the same method in the practice of accrediting schools. The Michigan system provided for inspection of each school by a committee of the faculty, consisting of one or two members. On a favorable report from this committee the school was accredited for one, two, or three years according to the degree of established excellence which it presented. With the spread of the system to other institutions, it has differentiated on the one hand in the direction of a more frequent and thorough-going inspection of schools, and on the other hand in the direction of less thorough inspection or none at all. Perhaps the lowest outcome of this differentiation is represented by the announcement of the authorities of one college that "Students bearing the personal certificates of a former teacher, concerning studies satisfactorily completed, will be given credit for the work they have done." ¹

On the other hand, the highest grade of efficiency in university inspection is found in such a system as that maintained for fifteen years or more by the University of California. Here the accrediting of schools was put under the oversight of a committee of the Academic Senate, representing the chief departments of instruction. All secondary schools within the state which applied for accrediting — public high schools, private schools, and institutions under corporate or ecclesiastical management — were visited each

¹ *Rept. Comr. Ed.*, 1894-95, II., p. 1183.

year under the direction of this committee by several members of the teaching force of the university. A given school was commonly so visited and inspected in the course of each year by instructors from each of the university departments of English, Latin, history, mathematics, and physics. In some instances the departments of Greek, modern languages, chemistry, and the biological sciences, or any one or more of them, were added to the list. In other cases the visitor from the department of English, for example, under a special arrangement, examined the school for the Latin department; and other economical combinations were made from time to time. The heads of departments visited many schools in person; university instructors of various subordinate grades shared in this labor; but so far as possible the assignment to such duty was limited to persons of considerable scholastic experience, and experience as a teacher in secondary schools was regarded as a qualification of no small importance. The men who went out for the purpose of such visitation were at the time engaged in ordinary university instruction. The loss to their classes from the interruptions to continuous work caused by their occasional absence, was minimized by various devices. The expense of the visitation was borne by the university.

The California plan has undergone some little modification within the past two years, in the direction of simpler and more economical administration. Yet the account given above represents, in the main, the system as it is still in operation. Under this system a school may be "accredited" without a favorable report in all subjects; but the report must be favorable in a sufficient number of subjects to indicate that the school is a real educational institution. Superior excellence in a single isolated department is not regarded as constituting a claim to a place on the university list.

The purpose of a well-considered accrediting system is not primarily to provide a means whereby applicants for admission to college may escape a dreaded examination. It

is rather to encourage and build up real educational institutions of secondary grade. This result the system has undoubtedly tended to bring about. It has brought our schools of secondary and higher grades into closer articulation and sympathy one with another. It has tended to release the teachers in secondary schools from the domination of merely formal examination requirements, and has turned their attention to vital matters in the domain of education.

On the other hand, the system has had and still has serious disadvantages. It tends to foster a too prevalent disposition to dispense with or evade all tests of accurate scholarship. Nor does it altogether put an end to the evil of subjecting the secondary schools to tests and influences somewhat foreign to the real purposes of secondary education. The inspection cannot be so conducted that all departments of all schools shall be tried by uniform or even consistent standards of excellence. It entails, too, a heavy burden upon the higher institution: it demands large expenditures of money and of the time of university instructors.

In several institutions the drain upon the university funds and the reduction of the efficiency of instruction in university classes, consequent upon the regular inspection of schools by university professors, has been felt to be intolerable. And a way of escape has been found through the employment of a special inspector, who is charged with the whole or the greater part of the visitation of schools. Such a step has been taken by the parent of this system — the University of Michigan. The California system, too, is in a stage of transition, and the changes which have already been made in it have greatly reduced the annual expenditure for its maintenance.

It would be hard to overestimate the good already accomplished by the accrediting system, in spite of all defects. It has given to communities a means which had been lacking, of discovering the deficiencies, and likewise the excel-

lences, of their schools. It has greatly aided the better principals and teachers in their efforts to maintain high standards of scholarship. It has quickened the intellectual life of schools and of whole communities, by the immediate touch of university ideals. In some states, as in Missouri, it has virtually called into being a new and better and more general provision for secondary education, within a very few years. In some states, under its influence, the improvement of the teaching force in such schools has gone forward at an unprecedented rate.

We have in this system the reappearance, under a new guise, of a conception which has entered variously into educational thought and practice within the past century and a half: the conception of a body of lower schools, or at least of middle schools, under a system of university administration. The idea has kept cropping out, in different states and in different countries. If a good scheme of organization has been devised for a university ministering to the higher educational needs of a given territory, why may not the same scheme be extended advantageously to all of the public schools within that territory? The University of the State of New York is one attempt at an answer, and the accrediting system is another.

But little need be said with reference to this question in such an account as we now have in hand. Attention should be called, however, to the practical difficulty which appears when administrative functions are devolved upon a teaching body, like that of a university. On the other hand, it is undoubtedly a function of university faculties, as President Tappan pointed out, to consider and determine, to the best of human ability, the whole range of educational ideals and processes proper to schools of every grade. It is a noteworthy fact that under the accrediting scheme great systems of inspection, of both public and private secondary schools, have grown up here without the support of one syllable of statutory enactment. In some respects the voluntary character of this arrangement has been its strength. It should

be added that this voluntary system is, in some sections of the country, so reinforced already by tradition and public sentiment that the authorities of any given school find in it the force of compulsion. This is, perhaps, an unfortunate outcome of the very success which the plan has achieved.

We find in Indiana what is virtually a system of university accrediting of high schools, the administration of which has been turned over to the state board of education. In July, 1873, the board of trustees of Indiana University adopted a resolution to the effect that a certificate "from certain high schools" should entitle the bearer to admission to the freshman class of that institution. In August of the same year the state board of education adopted plans under which the high schools which were worthy of such recognition should be designated and commissioned. In 1888 the following order was passed:

"That hereafter no high school commission be granted except on a favorable report in writing, to be made to the state board of education, by some member of the state board, who shall visit the high school in question as a committee of the state board for that purpose.

"That all the high schools now in commission be visited by committees of the board as soon as may be, and that the present list be modified by the reports from such visitation.

"That in case of change of superintendent in any commissioned high school, the commission then existing shall be in force until a visitation shall be made by a committee of the state board."

The territory of the state was divided up among the members of the board for the purposes of such visitation.

By such simple steps, and without specific legal enactment, an important state system of high schools has been built up. These schools rest upon a statutory provision authorizing local school authorities to provide for the teaching, not only of the elementary branches, in English, but also of "such other branches of learning and other languages as the advancement of the pupils may require." They are supported in the same manner as the elementary schools. The

supervisory power of the state board of education is secured by the broad provision that "said board shall take cognizance of such questions as may arise in the practical administration of the school system not otherwise provided for, and duly consider, discuss, and determine the same."

This board consists of the governor of the state, the state superintendent of public instruction, the respective presidents of the State University, Purdue University, and the State Normal School, the school superintendents of the three largest cities in the state, all *ex officio*, and "three citizens of prominence actively engaged in educational work in the state, appointed by the governor." A four-year course of study for high schools, prepared by this board, is recommended for adoption by all schools which seek a place on the "commissioned high schools" list. The board announces that commissions will be granted to those high schools only which meet the following requirements:

1. The character of the work must be satisfactory;
2. The high school course must be not less than thirty months in length, counting from the end of the eighth year;
3. The whole time of at least two teachers must be given to the high school work;
4. The course of study must be at least a fair equivalent of that recommended by the state board.

It will be seen that this system provides for inspection of the schools only at long and irregular intervals. In practice, this defect is partially remedied by the close oversight which the universities exercise over those members of their freshman classes who enter on certificates from the schools.

The interest in secondary education which has grown up under this system has extended to all sections of the state. The high schools of the more populous centres are generally on the "commissioned schools" list, and this list is steadily lengthening. There is growing up, also, a large number of "township high schools" in the more sparsely settled portions of the state, and the best of these find their place among the commissioned schools.

Parallel with the later development of the accrediting system, there have grown up important voluntary associations of instructors, in which representatives of the colleges meet with representatives of the secondary schools for the discussion of topics of common interest. The parent society of this order is the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools, organized at Boston in 1885. The object of this association was declared to be, "The establishment of mutually sympathetic and helpful relations between the faculties of the colleges represented and the teachers of the preparatory schools, and the suggestion to that end of practical measures and methods of work which shall strengthen both classes of institutions by bringing them into effective harmony."

This organization grew out of a previously existing state association of secondary school teachers in Massachusetts. It in turn prompted the establishment of the Commission of Colleges in New England on Admission Examinations. This commission, formed by agreement among the several New England colleges, and possessing no authority, has by its recommendations done much to unify the requirements for college matriculation. Its most notable achievement has been the mapping out of requirements in the English language and literature. It has made important recommendations also with reference to courses in the ancient classics and modern languages.

The example of New England has been followed by other sections of the country. The Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools in the Middle States and Maryland came into existence in 1892, growing out of the College Association of Pennsylvania, established five years earlier. The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was formed at Evanston, Illinois, in 1895; and the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States, at Atlanta, Georgia, later in the same year. State organizations somewhat similar in character are found in a number of the states, as in New York, Ohio, Tennessee, Colo-

rado, Michigan, both Dakotas, and California. These various societies, through their discussions and recommendations, have exercised a vast influence upon the development of our secondary education.

One of the chief landmarks in the recent history of this grade of school is the report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies, appointed by the National Educational Association in 1892, and commonly known as the "Committee of Ten." This committee was the outcome of a movement within the National Association, looking to uniformity of college entrance requirements, and was appointed at the suggestion of President James H. Baker of the University of Colorado. Its chairman was President Eliot of Harvard University. In its membership were included the United States Commissioner of Education and some of the foremost representatives of both secondary and higher education in America. Not limiting itself to the mechanical adjustment of relations between the high school and the college, the committee proceeded to consider the problem of secondary education from an educational point of view. Nine sub-committees of ten members each, were appointed to prepare reports on the several ordinary departments of secondary school instruction, namely, Latin, Greek, English, other modern languages, mathematics, physics (with astronomy and chemistry), natural history (biology, including botany, zoology, and physiology), history (with civil government and political economy), and geography (physical geography, geology, and meteorology).

The Committee of Ten, having secured carefully prepared reports from its sub-committees, and having examined a large number of the courses in actual use in secondary schools, drew up a report which was published by the Bureau of Education in December, 1893. The reports of the sub-committees were incorporated in the document as issued.

In all of these discussions the distribution of the years of school life now generally followed in the educational admin-

istration of the American states is assumed as a datum; eight years being assigned to the elementary school, and the four years next following to the high school. The demand for an earlier introduction of secondary school studies is, however, reiterated by several of the sub-committees which reported to the Committee of Ten. They call attention to the disadvantage to students pursuing, for instance, the study of Latin, which results from postponing the beginnings of that study to the ninth year of the school course, when the student has already passed the most favorable time for memorizing paradigms and a strange vocabulary. The Committee of Ten, while approving strongly of these recommendations, confine their proposals to improvements in the ordinary four-year secondary course.

After discussing the principles which should guide in the framing of courses of study, the committee present four sample courses, which may be taken as illustrations of the application of those principles. These sample courses are, however, generally regarded as the least successful and significant outcome of the committee's labors. The portions of the report which represent the most mature deliberation are those which propose general principles for guidance in the forming of such courses.

The committee lay great stress on the correlation of studies in secondary schools: the unifying of many subjects into a well-knit curriculum, through the recognition of their numerous inter-relations. They endorse the unanimous recommendation of the sub-committees that the instruction in any given subject shall not be different for a student preparing to enter a higher institution from that for students who go no further than the high school. They make an urgent plea for more highly trained teachers. They declare against a multiplicity of "short information courses," such as have been given in many high schools in times past: a dip into one science followed by a dip into another, and no deep draught from any. Instead, they recommend that such subjects as are studied be pursued consecutively

enough and extensively enough to yield that training which each is best fitted to yield. They would have continuous instruction throughout the secondary course in the four main lines of language, mathematics, history, and natural science. In particular, they recommend that in the first two years of a four-year course, each student should enter all of the principal fields of knowledge, in order that he may fairly "exhibit his quality and discover his tastes." For this reason they recommend the postponement of the beginning of Greek to the third year, in order that the student may not find himself at the bifurcation of the course into classical and Latin-scientific courses before he is ready or his advisers sufficiently informed as to his capabilities to make an intelligent choice. The committee would require in each course a maximum of twenty recitation periods a week; but they would have five of these periods devoted to unprepared work; and would reserve double periods for laboratory exercises whenever possible.

Within the limitations indicated above, as to continuity and extensiveness of studies in each of the broad divisions of knowledge, the committee would leave to the individual student and his advisers the largest possible freedom in the choice of studies. With reference to requirements for admission to college, the committee recommend "that the colleges and scientific schools of the country should accept for admission to appropriate courses of their instruction the attainments of any youth who has passed creditably through a good secondary school course, no matter to what group of subjects he may have mainly devoted himself in the secondary school." Describing more exactly what might be considered "a good secondary school course" for this purpose, they propose that it shall consist of any group of studies from those considered by the sub-committees, "provided that the sum of the studies in each of the four years amounts to sixteen, or eighteen, or twenty periods a week,—as may be thought best,—and provided, further, that in each year at least four of the principal subjects presented shall have been

pursued at least three periods a week, and that at least three of the subjects shall have been pursued three years or more."

This report called forth a very spirited discussion. The definite courses of study which the committee suggested have not been generally adopted; nor have college admission requirements been made uniform in the manner which it proposed. But its influence has been widespread and pervasive.¹

Since the early days of the academies, it has been customary in many schools to offer alternative courses, one of them classical, the other "modern." Other options have been added from time to time, so that now a large school commonly offers several parallel courses. But especially within the last twenty years, there has appeared a strong demand that instead of a choice of curriculums the students be offered a wide range of choice in particular subjects.

Several influences have combined to bring about this demand. The general adoption of an elective system in the colleges may be mentioned. School men have objected to close prescription in high schools when freedom is increasing in the higher institutions. The conviction that the secondary schools should not be merely tributary to the colleges is gaining ground. The independence of the secondary school carries with it independent responsibility for the supply of the actual educational needs of the youth attending such a school. What is good education in the high school, it is maintained, is good preparation for the higher schools. And the students in the high schools are thought to have reached the stage of differentiation of educational needs. The need of the state, moreover, which education must satisfy, is the need of full, spiritual unity underlying the utmost diversity of talent and culture. The elementary schools, with their single course of study, are conservators of spiritual unity. The secondary schools can and should serve a different purpose. Their instruction should be

¹ See *Bibliographical notes* at the end of this chapter.

adapted to the cultivation of the diverse talents of the youth enrolled in them. No two students have exactly the same aptitudes ; so far as possible every student should pursue a different course of instruction from every other student. So the arguments run.

It will be seen that one tendency of this doctrine is to substitute a quantitative for a qualitative consideration of the curriculum. The most diverse subjects are held to be equivalent for the purposes of general culture, if pursued for equal periods of time under equally favorable conditions. A high school course, under this system, would consist of a fixed number of units of study, to be chosen at will from the whole number of studies taught in the school. Certain utterances of the Committee of Ten have tended to strengthen this quantitative view of the curriculum. It received early reinforcement, also, from some prominent institutions of higher instruction, as the Indiana and Leland Stanford Junior Universities. For a number of years, these institutions have stated their admission requirements for the most part in quantitative terms.¹

A later attempt at an adjustment of the relations of secondary schools and colleges, to the educational advantage of both, has given us the report of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements. In 1895, at the suggestion of Professor William Carey Jones, the National Educational Association, through its departments of Secondary Education

¹ The doctrine of "formal discipline," which was widely influential in German education in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, has for the most part been in disfavor in American educational theory within the past few years. Does not the movement toward free election of studies in general culture courses imply the revival of that doctrine in a new form ? The amount of study and the excellence of the instruction are taken as elements of the first importance, while the content of the studies pursued is treated as relatively unimportant. Compare, on different aspects of this question, RUSSELL, *German higher schools*, ch. 13 ; HINSDALE, *The dogma of formal discipline*, in *Proc. N. E. A.* session of 1894, pp. 625-635, and *Ed. Rev.*, VIII., pp. 128-142, September, 1894 ; ELIOT, *A wider range of electives in college admission requirements*, in his *Educational reform*, pp. 375-391, and *Ed. Rev.*, XI., pp. 417-432, May, 1896.

and Higher Education, appointed a committee to consider the specific question of the unification of college entrance requirements. This committee, as finally constituted, consisted of fourteen members, representing the high schools and universities of different sections of the country, under the chairmanship of Dr. A. F. Nightingale, then superintendent of high schools of the city of Chicago. The first important service rendered by the committee was the preparation and publication of a table showing the actual entrance requirements of sixty-seven representative colleges, universities, and higher technical schools in the United States.¹

The committee's final report was presented at the meeting of the National Association in July, 1899. This report is mainly devoted to the attempt to establish "national units, or norms" in the several subjects taught in the secondary schools as preparatory to college matriculation. The fundamental problem "is to formulate courses of study in each of the several subjects of the curriculum which shall be substantially equal in value, the measure of value being both quantity and quality of work done. . . . It is not to be expected, nor is it to be desired, that all colleges should make the same entrance requirements, nor is it to be expected that all schools will have the same program of studies. What is to be desired, and what the committee hopes may become true, is that the colleges will state their entrance requirements in terms of national units, or norms, and that the schools will build up their program of studies out of units furnished by these separate courses of study." This hope is reinforced by experience with college entrance requirements in English, which have within the past few years become nearly uniform throughout the country, on the basis of the recommendations of the Commission of Colleges in New England on Admission Examinations.

¹ See *Preliminary report of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements*, in *The School Review*, IV., pp. 341-412; and *Report of the chairman, Id.*, pp. 415-423. Subsidiary reports are presented, *Id.*, pp. 424-460, June, 1896.

In the determination of these norms, the committee received assistance from several bodies of expert scholars in the several branches of instruction. The American Philological Association proposed courses of study in Latin and Greek. The Modern Language Association of America rendered a like service with reference to the French and German languages. The American Historical Association and the Chicago Section of the American Mathematical Society reported on courses in history and mathematics. And the Department of Natural-Science Instruction of the National Educational Association presented recommendations relating to physical geography, chemistry, botany, zoölogy, and physics. These several supplemental papers are published in connection with the committee's report. The committee express general approval of the courses recommended in these papers, suggest some slight modifications, and offer an independent report on the subject of English. Their further recommendations are summed up in fourteen resolutions, of which the following, while not very clearly expressed, seem to be of the greatest general significance :

"I. That the principle of election be recognized in secondary schools."

"IV. That we favor a unified six-year high-school course of study beginning with the seventh grade."

"VI. That, while the committee recognizes as suitable for recommendation by the colleges for admission the several studies enumerated in this report, and while it also recognizes the principle of large liberty to the students in secondary schools, it does not believe in unlimited election, but especially emphasizes the importance of a certain number of constants in all secondary schools and in all requirements for admission to college.

"That the committee recommends that the number of constants be recognized in the following proportion, namely : four units in foreign languages (no language accepted in less than two units), two units in mathematics, two in English, one in history, and one in science."

"XII. That we recommend that any piece of work comprehended within the studies included in this report that has covered at least one year of four periods a week in a well-equipped secondary school, under competent instruction, should be considered worthy to count toward admission to college."

The committee disclaim any implication that different subjects may be regarded as educationally equivalent. "This proposition [resolution XII.]," they say, "does not involve of itself, necessarily, the idea that all subjects are of equal cultural or disciplinary value, . . . yet the advantages to our educational system of the adoption of this principle will be so great as far to outweigh any incidental disadvantage which may accrue from accepting as of equal value for college purposes the more or less unequal values represented by these studies."

The first important general movement looking to an improvement of the relations between colleges and secondary schools through a reform in the conduct of entrance examinations, was inaugurated by the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. At the meeting of this body in December, 1899, Professor (now President) Nicholas Murray Butler read a paper in which he advocated a certain degree of uniformity in college entrance requirements, and the setting up of a common board of examiners. "It has long been my belief," said Dr. Butler, "that most of the difficulties which have attended and still attend the relations between secondary schools and colleges grow out of what may properly be called our educational atomism. Each institution plays for its own hand, and consults first what it rightly or wrongly feels to be its own peculiar interests. . . . It is my present purpose to . . . contrast with the prevailing atomistic view, what may be described as an organic or institutional view, . . . and to draw the conclusion that, when co-operation with other colleges is demonstrably in the public interest, such co-operation is a duty."

The plan of co-operation that he proposed was embodied in a set of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted by the association. This was the first of a series of steps which led to the organization, November 17, 1900, of the College Entrance Examination Board of the Middle States and Maryland. This board appointed three examiners in each of the nine principal subjects entering into college admission requirements, two of the examiners in each group being college instructors and the third a secondary school principal or teacher. These examiners prepared the questions to be set in their several subjects, and issued detailed instructions for the guidance of the readers of the answer-books of those taking the examination.

The first examination under this arrangement was held the week beginning June 17, 1901. The questions had been sent out to various centres, at which those taking the examination might assemble. The examination accordingly took place simultaneously at sixty-seven points in the United States, and two in Europe, and was taken by a total of 973 candidates. Over forty colleges and universities, many of them outside of the territory directly represented by the examination board, declared their willingness to accept the board's examinations as satisfactory substitutes for their own, in the topics covered, and three institutions in the city of New York took the further step of dispensing with their own separate examinations.¹

Such an arrangement as this had been previously proposed by President Eliot, of Harvard University. It seems altogether probable that the movement thus begun in the middle states will extend to other portions of the country, and will in time do away with the separate entrance examinations of our several colleges. It involves many possible dangers, but as an improvement upon the system which exposed the secondary schools to all of the infelicities connected with separate examinations at all of the higher

¹ *Proceedings of the 13th annual convention of the Association . . . of the Middle States and Maryland.* Also, *First annual report of the secretary*, etc.

institutions, with their many divergences and occasional whimsicalities, it is an undertaking of very great significance.

The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has taken action looking to the unifying of the several agencies for the inspection and accrediting of schools which are now at work in the field covered by that organization. At the suggestion of Professor S. A. Forbes, dean of the college of science of the University of Illinois, a Commission on Accredited Schools was appointed in 1901, whose duties are enumerated as follows:

"1. To define and describe unit courses of study in the various subjects of the high school programme, taking for the point of departure the recommendations of the National Committee of Thirteen;¹

"2. To serve as a standing committee on uniformity of admission requirements for the colleges and universities of the Association;

"3. To take steps to secure uniformity in the standards and methods, and economy of labor and expense, in the work of high school inspection;

"4. To prepare a list of high schools within the territory of the Association which are entitled to the accredited relationship;

"5. To formulate and report methods and standards for the assignment of college credit for good high school work done in advance of the college entrance requirement."

This commission was constituted of representatives, in equal proportions, of the colleges and the secondary schools, about forty members in all, with Professor Harry Pratt Judson, dean of the faculties of arts, literature, and science in the University of Chicago, as its chairman. Its first report was presented at the meeting of the association at Cleveland, Ohio, in March, 1902.

In the definition and description of unit courses of study, this report follows, in the main, the Committee on College-Entrance Requirements and the College Entrance Examina-

¹ I suppose the Committee on College-Entrance Requirements is intended.

tion Board. It recommends that college credit be allowed for certain kinds of advanced work done in secondary schools, and proposes regulations to be observed in the granting of such credit. It recommends further that the schools be adequately equipped with libraries and laboratories, and be taught by college-bred teachers, specially trained in the subjects which they teach, and not required to give instruction for more than five recitation periods a day.

Especial interest attaches to its recommendations touching the inspection of high schools. Here it is proposed:

"4. That a Board of Inspectors should be appointed by the Commission to ascertain the schools within the territory of the North Central Association which are entitled to accredited relationship. . . .

"5. That the Commission cause to be printed and distributed to the several inspectors, for the use of high schools and academies, certain uniform blanks, with the intent to secure uniformity and to avoid duplication of work."

It is further provided that the Board of Inspectors shall present their list of recommended schools to the Commission by June first of each year, and that the Commission shall publish the list by June tenth of each year.

This report was adopted by the association, and a Board of Inspectors was constituted, consisting of Inspectors Whitney of Michigan, Brown of Iowa, Aiton of Minnesota, Brooks of Illinois, and Hoge of Missouri.¹

It is an important undertaking which this commission has in hand. In the words of one of the officers of the North Central Association, "It represents the attitude of the West as distinctly as the Examination Board of the Middle States represents the attitude of the East." Everything will depend upon the effectiveness of its system of school visitation. From the standpoint of college and uni-

¹ MS. summary of the report and of the action taken in accordance with its provisions, by Director G. N. Carman, of Lewis Institute, Chicago, secretary of the commission.

versity scholarship, a system of entrance examinations will probably have the advantage over the accrediting system wherever there is any lack of thoroughness in the inspection of schools.

It is fortunate that the accrediting plan and the examination plan are to have a fair trial, side by side, on a large scale, and each under a comprehensive scheme. It is fortunate, too, that both schemes as now under way make provision for co-operation between the secondary and the higher schools. It is hardly to be expected or desired that either organization should simply triumph over the other in the competition of purposes and methods. It is more likely that each will learn from the other, and from its own experience; and that the outcome will be something better than the promoters of either enterprise have as yet proposed.

CHAPTER XVIII

RECENT TENDENCIES — *Continued*

THE endeavor to adjust our secondary schools to the changing needs of American life, has had its influence upon curriculums, but has appeared most conspicuously in the differentiation of schools.

The old grammar schools represented the classical trend and tone in education; the academies showed the influence of the new romantic ideals; the high schools had a touch of realism from the start, which hardly came to its full development, however, until the present generation. The schools had worked down and down to larger and larger social grades and divisions, till they had come to be, in a sense, a concern of the whole people. The educational movement became so comprehensive in its range, that it embraced a multitude of diverse aims and aspirations. The old academies had shown great flexibility in their systems of organization and instruction; but numerous variants from the dominant type arose in their day, as we have seen. Some of these variants were solitary institutions; some belonged to movements which soon brought forth many schools, alike in some characteristic feature; while one movement, that which gave us the public high schools, outgrew and overshadowed all that the academies had done, and gave a different and probably more lasting character to our general provision for secondary education.

The high schools, too, have shown great adaptability to varying needs and conditions. But they have failed to meet all demands for secondary education, and we have seen private schools of many sorts — some under ecclesiastical

control, some managed by private corporations, some owned and conducted by individuals in their purely private capacity—growing up and flourishing alongside of the public schools. These schools, both public and private, have been busily engaged in the attempt to satisfy the great diversity of public taste and need in this domain, and their varied activities have served to render our secondary education increasingly interesting and significant.

One of the notable tendencies of the past forty years is seen in the growth of large boarding schools under Episcopalian management. This movement is commonly traced back to a beginning in the Flushing Institute and St. Paul's College, on Long Island. The Flushing Institute was under the control of a private corporation, apparently organized as a joint stock company. But its whole educational management was in the hands of the Rev. William Augustus Muhlenberg, a man of marked and winning personality, who rose to distinction in several spheres of activity.¹ Beginning as a boarding school for boys in 1828, it grew into a college ten years later. In the eighteen years that Dr. Muhlenberg was at the head of the institution, about nine hundred students came under his instruction. Among these were John Jay, Richard Grant White, three prospective bishops of the Protestant Episcopal church, and others who became eminent in various fields of usefulness. The college was owned and controlled by Dr. Muhlenberg alone. It was continued for three or four years after he left it to enter a pastorate in New York, and then was closed and the property sold.

Dr. Muhlenberg regarded his school as his family. He was to each of the boys *in loco parentis*, and the paternal type of boarding school management which he represented has entered largely into the conduct of other institutions. "Schools modelled, so far as might be, after St. Paul's," says his biographer, "had sprung up in all directions. Every diocese became ambitious to have one, and bishops and

¹ He is perhaps most widely known as the author of "I would not live away," and other Christian hymns.

doctors of the church had resorted to College Point, and sat at his feet, as learners of his methods." St. James College, at Hagerstown, Maryland, was one of the most noteworthy of these new schools.¹

A little later this movement, to which Dr. Muhlenberg had given so great an impetus, resulted in the founding of a school which has lived and prospered to the present time. That is the St. Paul's School, at Concord, New Hampshire, in some sense the patriarch among the schools of this class. Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck, a former pupil of the Round Hill School at Northampton, was the founder of this school. It was declared in the deed of gift, by which he conveyed a valuable piece of real estate to the trustees whom he had chosen, that, "We are desirous of endowing a school of the highest class, for boys, in which they may obtain an education which shall fit them either for college or business; including thorough intellectual training in the various branches of learning; gymnastic and manly exercises adapted to preserve health and strengthen the physical condition; such aesthetic culture and accomplishments as shall tend to refine the manners and elevate the taste, together with careful moral and religious instruction."

The first rector of this school, who stamped his character and ideals upon its whole organization, was the Rev. Henry Augustus Coit, a former student under Dr. Muhlenberg at College Point, and sometime instructor in the College of St. James, at Hagerstown. He presided over the institution from its opening, in 1856, down to the time of his death, in 1895. Under his management it went steadily forward, in attendance, equipment, and teaching force. In 1860 it had six masters and 43 boys; in 1870, nine masters and 100 boys; in 1880, seventeen masters and 227 boys; in 1890, twenty-seven masters and 295 boys. The latest catalogue shows thirty-seven masters and 352 boys.

There is much in this school, as in those which have followed its lead, which reminds one of the English public

¹ AYRES, *Life of William Augustus Muhlenberg*, ch. 7-12.

schools. Not only its distinctive religious character, but its school nomenclature, in which *forms* and *removes* and other old-time expressions appear, and its pursuit of the English game of cricket, introduced by the founder himself in the earlier days, all call up associations with Rugby and Harrow and other great schools of the mother land. It is not to be supposed, however, that these resemblances indicate a purpose to make of St. Paul's and the other schools of its class mere imitations of their English prototypes. It is more likely that these American schools, having received inspiration and suggestion from across the water, are working them out in such forms as American conditions seem to call for, and that the occasional reproduction of distinctively English usages is a mere incident of the process. In its earlier history, the school year at St. Paul's lasted from December to October, with a brief recess in May. The charges for tuition and residence were three hundred dollars a year. Since 1864 these charges have slowly risen to seven hundred dollars.¹

St. Mark's School, at Southborough, Massachusetts, was founded by Joseph Burnett, in 1865. It is said that its establishment was suggested by the fact that the dormitories of St. Paul's School were already full, and new boys could gain admission to that school only after a long period of waiting. Beginning with twelve boys, St. Mark's soon had to build a new dormitory for forty-five, which was soon thereafter enlarged to provide for sixty. When this provision was again increased, in 1890, and one hundred boys were accommodated, that number was fixed as the final limit. In recent years this limit has been somewhat exceeded. The school is under a board of trustees, who appoint a head-master in whom the actual administration is vested. The bishop of the diocese (Protestant Episcopal) is visitor of the school.²

¹ LAMBERTON, *St. Paul's School; Statement of St. Paul's School . . . 1900-1901.*

² *St. Mark's School. The consecration of the chapel, etc. Catalogue of the school for 1901-1902.*

The Shattuck School, at Faribault, Minnesota, named for the founder of St. Paul's School, took definite shape in 1867.¹ Groton School, at Groton, Massachusetts, took its place in this sequence of foundations in 1884;² and others have followed in their line.

This notable group of Episcopalian schools is representative of a larger class of boarding schools, under various forms of control, which have been growing up in recent years. Another important institution of this class is the Lawrenceville School, established on the John C. Green foundation at Lawrenceville, New Jersey, in 1883, in which the household or cottage system of school management has been carried to a high development.

The military ideal in education was quickened by the experiences of our Civil War. It has reappeared in the organization of school battalions in a number of high schools, from Boston to San Francisco; in ecclesiastical schools, like that at Faribault; and in other institutions under various forms of private control. Many schools have been established in which the military organization is not simply one aspect of the life of the institution, but gives it instead its dominant character. The Michigan Military Academy, on the shore of Orchard Lake, may be mentioned as an example of this type of institution. Colonel Rogers established this school in 1877, proposing to make of it an institution in which boys should be put through a course of effective military training, and at the same time be fitted for admission to the leading colleges, both east and west. The school made its way quickly into public favor, and has had a highly interesting career.³

One recent foundation is so unique and of such great proportions that it can hardly be passed by in such an account as this. The Jacob Tome Institute, founded in 1889,

¹ *Shattuck School*, . . . *its history*, etc.

² *Catalogue* of the school for 1901-1902.

³ See the descriptive and historical article in *The Interior* for July 23, 1896.

at Port Deposit, Maryland, received from its founder, by gift and bequest, a sum amounting to more than \$2,500,000. The character of this Institute can hardly be set forth, for it is not yet clearly determined; but there is reason to hope that the management will make of it in time a very important addition to our provision for secondary education. At present, a free elementary school is maintained by the corporation, together with a secondary school for both boys and girls. Instruction in this "Senior School" is also free to residents of Maryland. Others pay a tuition fee of one hundred dollars a year, with an additional charge of three hundred dollars for such as live in the boarding hall. The act of incorporation calls for instruction not only in the usual school studies, but also in manual training, and in domestic and other useful arts. Several courses of instruction have accordingly been offered, some preparatory to college and others of a more general character, besides courses in manual training, in commerce, and in art. A school of commerce, of college grade, has been announced as projected but has not yet been organized.¹

It would be too large an undertaking to give any account of the private day schools which have grown up in American cities within recent years; yet it is not to be forgotten that their number is great and their service highly important. Some are fitting schools for college, in which cramming is carried to the last degree of refinement. Some are finishing schools for young ladies, which attain their object beyond all question. But it can hardly be doubted that the majority of these schools are under the influence of a genuine educational purpose, and many of them are doing work of the greatest value, as is shown by the high character and sound culture of students whom they have sent out.

The Roman Catholic educational movement in this country received a new impetus from the Third Plenary Council held at Baltimore in 1884. Parish priests were solemnly charged by this council with the establishment and main-

¹ *The Jacob Tome Institute . . . prospectus of the senior school, 1901-1902.*

tenance of parochial schools, and Catholic parents directed to send their children to such schools, except in special cases. This action merely followed and emphasized that of the Second Plenary Council, held in 1866. But a new step of great significance was that resulting in the establishment, at Washington, D. C., of the Catholic University of America, which was opened for theological students in 1889, and for students in philosophy, law, and technology in 1895.

In their recent development, Catholic schools have in several particulars been frankly assimilated with the courses and methods of the public schools which they parallel. Under the lead of the rector of the Catholic University, an Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States has been formed, which has now held three annual conferences; and at the latest of these conferences, Bishop Conaty, in his opening address as presiding officer, urged the importance of unifying the system of Catholic education, through a more complete organization of high schools, which should link the existing parochial schools with the Catholic colleges.

This project has been widely discussed of late, in Catholic circles, and it is not unlikely that the next important advance in Catholic education will be seen in the more general establishment of schools of this kind. The Rev. J. A. Burns, C.S.C., in an address before the conference mentioned above, called attention to the fact that, in the year 1898-99, there were 646 boys and 1,342 girls in the 53 Catholic high schools then in existence, attached to elementary schools. He argued in favor of the building up of such schools, "as the connecting link between parochial school and college." He would make them "a system of schools parallel, as nearly as may be, to the system of public high schools." One of the most notable steps already taken, in the direction indicated by these recent utterances, was the establishment several years ago of the Cahill High School, an endowed, free, Catholic school, in the city of Philadelphia.

Similar schools have been established at Peoria, Providence, and elsewhere.¹

The differentiation of schools thus far considered is that on the side of private establishments. While there has been a notable development of private secondary education, in several directions, within the past generation, it is a fact of great significance that this movement has not yet begun to compete in any marked degree with the public high school movement. Up to the eighties of the nineteenth century, less than half of the secondary school students in the United States were in public high schools. Within that decade the proportion was reversed. In the year 1887-88 the public schools are found passing their competitors for the first time. In 1889-90 the public high schools contained more than two-thirds of our secondary school students, and this proportion has increased every year since that time, so far as the statistics have yet been published. According to the latest report of the United States Commissioner of Education, that for the year 1899-1900, 82.41 per cent of the secondary school students in the United States were in public, and 17.59 in private schools.

Other differentiations of our secondary education should be briefly noted, the most of which have affected both public schools and those under private management. And first of these, the provision for separate schooling of boys and girls.² The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1896-97 showed a total of 5,109 public high schools in the whole country, of which 35 were for boys only, 26 for girls only, and the remainder co-educational. The same report showed a total of 2,100 private high schools, academies, etc., of which 351 were for boys only, 537 for girls only, and 1,212 co-educational.

There has been some differentiation of secondary schools

¹ See Bibliographical notes at the end of this chapter.

² Historically, of course, the boys' school constitutes the original stock, from which the mixed school and the school for girls have been split off at different times.

on the color line. In the northern and western states, white and colored students, where there are colored students of secondary grade, commonly attend the same schools. But in the southern states separate schools are provided for those of African race. The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1896-97 showed 169 schools in the United States for the secondary and higher education of colored youth exclusively. In many of these schools both grades of instruction were provided in the same institution. About twenty of the number were public high schools. The remainder were private or denominational institutions. In these 169 schools, 15,203 colored students were receiving instruction of secondary grade. The report for 1899-1900 showed that 5,075 colored students were pursuing secondary school studies in public high schools in the southern states, and 3,320 in such schools in other portions of the Union.

Another special type of school, the evening high school, has been established in a number of our larger cities. Schools of this sort have offered very elastic courses of study, suited to the varied needs of their clientage, and have been a great boon to many who have been obliged to work by day after the completion of an elementary school course.

The European manual training exhibits at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, in 1876, gave a strong impetus to a movement, already under discussion and even tentatively begun, toward the establishment of manual training schools in American cities. St. Louis took a step forward, in 1879, in the establishment of such a school in connection with Washington University. In 1884 similar schools were established, some under private and some under public control, in Baltimore, Chicago, Toledo, New York, and Eau Claire, Wisconsin. The discussions of the year 1882 in the National Educational Association, together with important articles in the great public journals, had given new force to the movement. In these early schools the idea of manual training for the purposes of general culture was

usually uppermost, their projectors disclaiming any intention of establishing schools for the teaching of trades.¹

More recently, trade schools have been established in the largest cities, but for the most part under private initiative and control. A notable school of this sort is the California School of Mechanical Arts, established at San Francisco by James Lick, the founder of the Lick Observatory. Mr. Lick, in 1875, conveyed to certain trustees a large amount of property, to be devoted to various public uses. He directed that the sum of \$540,000 should be set aside to found and endow a school "to educate males and females in the practical arts of life." After prolonged litigation the school contemplated in this gift came into being in 1895. It receives pupils who have finished the work of the grammar school, and offers them a course of instruction and training four years in length. Some studies of a general character are included in this course; but the distinguishing feature of the school is its provision for technical instruction preparatory to the pursuit of several of the common mechanical trades. Each pupil devotes the first two years in the school to laying a broad foundation in drawing, mathematics, natural science, and general manual training, and to the discovery of his own special tastes and aptitudes. At the end of this period he selects the trade which he will pursue, and the last two years are devoted to specific preparation for the practice of this trade. The school is free to boys and girls from any part of California.

The Wilmerding school, established in 1898 for similar purposes by a bequest of Mr. J. Clute Wilmerding, has been organized in such close connection with the Lick school that the two may be conducted on a co-operative basis. The Regents of the University of California were made trustees of the fund of \$400,000 bequeathed by Mr. Wilmerding to found this school.

In a recent address before the Twentieth Century Club of Boston, President Pritchett of the Massachusetts Institute

¹ WOODWARD, *Rise and progress of manual training.*

of Technology gave an interesting survey of the provision for technical instruction and training for particular trades now available in the city of Boston. Such provision is found to be meagre and inadequate, although some good beginnings have been made. President Pritchett called especial attention to the good work done on certain technical lines in the evening classes of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Union, and other benevolent and private organizations.¹

In the most of the cities of the country, both large and small, the evening classes of the Young Men's Christian Associations are rendering a very important service, offering as they do both technical and "continuation" courses in a great variety of subjects. Such classes have been maintained for many years; but they have been greatly extended and improved within the past decade. One chief influence furthering this new development emanated from the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. The International Committee of these Associations have employed a secretary to foster and systematize this side of their varied activity. Their state organizations stimulate and unify the work of the local Associations; and the local Associations themselves, working in full independence, employ skilled directors for their educational agencies, offer courses in such subjects as are most in demand, under the best instructors they can secure, conduct regular examinations, and issue certificates of proficiency to students who have satisfied strict scholastic requirements.² Other religious and benevolent societies do work of a somewhat similar sort, though generally less extensive and systematic than that of the organization referred to.

¹ *Ed. Rev.* for March, 1902.

² The supervision of this work was undertaken by the International Committee in 1893. A system of international examinations was introduced in 1896. In 1901, there were 380 of the Young Men's Christian Associations in North America which maintained educational classes, with an enrolment of 26,906 different students. Eighteen educational directors were employed. *Annual report of the Secretary (Mr. George B. Hodge) for 1901; Prospectus for 1901-02.*

The Pratt Institute is itself a typical instance of a class of large urban foundations which are of untold value as supplemental agencies of education. The Cooper Institute of New York is the patriarch of such establishments, and the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia is another notable example. It is an immensely varied work which is done by these institutes, and each has followed its own separate course of development. But their activities are chiefly educational, and fall largely in what may be regarded as the field of secondary education; more particularly, too, in secondary education of a technical sort.

Commercial subjects have a large place in the courses offered by these various institutes and associations, and this side of vocational instruction calls for some special notice. For several generations, book-keeping and other subjects of this class have found a place, rather uncertain and variable, to be sure, in the courses of study of secondary schools. In the high schools and in many private schools, regular commercial courses have been organized. For the most part, however, such courses have been less exacting than the main courses of the schools in which they have been offered, and too often they have been the last resort of lazy or incompetent students. Not infrequently, too, they have been short courses, only one year or two years in length. There have been honorable exceptions, but on the whole these commercial courses have proved unsatisfactory.

There has been, however, a real and insistent demand for distinctively commercial education, and this has been met in part by private schools, "business colleges," of varying degrees of excellence, which have appeared in most of the larger cities of the country. Among the institutions of higher education, the University of Pennsylvania, with its Wharton School, stood alone in its provision for the advanced study of commercial operations, until the closing years of the nineteenth century, when a movement appeared almost simultaneously in a number of our colleges and universities, looking to the making of provision, on a high

plane of efficiency, for studies of this kind. A new interest has arisen, too, in commercial education of the secondary grade. The setting up of a Business High School in Washington, District of Columbia, is one indication of such interest. Of much greater significance is the establishment of a High School of Commerce by the Board of Education of the City of New York. This school will be opened in the fall of 1902, under the principalship of Mr. J. J. Shepard, and provided with a corps of thirty instructors. A new building is in process of erection for its use. The school will offer a course seven years in length, resting upon the ordinary elementary instruction offered in the primary and grammar schools.

These few pages have given but the merest hint of the varied development of our secondary schools in recent years, but to go at all fully into the subject would add unduly to the bulk of this volume. In bringing our survey of this class of recent tendencies to a close, it will be well to make note of the new movements affecting secondary education in our great and growing cities.

The increasing demand for high school instruction in our cities within recent years, has taxed to the utmost the ingenuity and the resources of those officially charged with the management of public schools. New problems not a few have presented themselves. At what point does the centralization of high school instruction in a single school cease to be economical or of educational advantage? When more than one high school is provided, may the division best be made on territorial lines, or according to the sex or the special pursuits of the students to be accommodated? What system of supervision will best regulate the common interests of all such schools and their relations one to another? What principles shall guide in the distribution of funds among the several schools? Questions such as these, for the most part new in this generation, have come up for answer. And each community has answered them, provisionally at least, in its own way, under the influence of

numberless local conditions. The different solutions reached in Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Denver, Cincinnati, Boston, Baltimore, and a score of other cities, are full of interest, and might well fill a volume on *The new systems of high school administration*. Such a volume should deal also with the varying duties of high school principals, the departmental organization of instruction, the thousand-and-one questions relating to high school buildings and the equipment and management of workshops and laboratories.

This work cannot attempt even a superficial account of these things. Some little attention should be given, however, to the new high school system of the metropolis, which in its rapid development is probably without a parallel in the history of education.

From 1870, when the Normal College was established, down to 1897, when the new high schools were opened, the public provision for secondary education in what is now the Borough of Manhattan and the Bronx was substantially as follows: The Free Academy, now become the City College, could care for a limited number of boys, giving them a course leading to an academic degree. The Normal College offered secondary instruction, with a professional bent, to girls who wished to become teachers. And there was an evening high school, which provided a continuation course for such as had completed their elementary studies, and were now occupied during the day with the duties of active life.

The City College and the Normal College took the best of those who offered themselves for admission, but they had accommodations for only a small fraction of those who had finished the elementary school course and wished to go on with higher studies. It does not appear clearly why these facilities had not been enlarged to meet the growing need. There was probably an unwillingness on the part of successive school boards to devote public funds to secondary education when so many children were continuously unprovided with opportunities for even primary instruction. But the countless other influences which must have been at work,

no one outside of the City of New York may ever hope to untangle.

There had grown up in the meantime within the city a noteworthy group of secondary schools under private control, some of which had a national reputation. The school of the Dutch Reformed Church, established in 1633 for elementary instruction, was still alive, and had grown into the Collegiate School, for the secondary education of boys. Trinity School, another colonial establishment for elementary instruction, had also become an important secondary school. The old Columbia Grammar School, which shares in the classical reputation of Professor Anthon, continued its work, though no longer connected with Columbia College. There were such schools for girls as Mrs. Reed's, Miss Spence's, the Misses Ely's, the Brearley schools, and many others well known in the city and far beyond its limits as well; and boys' schools, without a colonial history, were making a strong modern record—the Cutler School, the school of John Browning, and several others; while the two schools of Dr. Sachs were making separate provision for both boys and girls.

There remained, however, the growing demand for free public high schools, and under Mayor Strong's administration the preliminary steps were taken by the Board of Education to satisfy this need. The new high schools which were finally secured, as an outcome of this movement, were three in number: the De Witt Clinton School, for boys; the Wadleigh School, for girls; and the Peter Cooper School, now called the Morris School, for both girls and boys. They were opened in the fall of 1897. Dr. John T. Buchanan was called from the Kansas City High School to become principal of the school for boys; Dr. John G. Wight, from the Girls' High School of Philadelphia, to become principal of the school for girls; while the mixed school was put in charge of Dr. Edward J. Goodwin, who was called from the principalship of the high school at Newton, Massachusetts. Dr. Buchanan, beginning with about five hundred boys, in

a condemned and disused grammar school building, saw his school grow to twelve hundred in a single year, and to twenty-four hundred in two years. Each year the enormous growth called for the opening of an "annex" to the school in another part of the city, till now the De Witt Clinton School is in reality a system of four schools, all remote from one another, with a teaching force of nearly one hundred instructors. Each annex is in charge of a "first assistant," while Dr. Buchanan continues to be principal over the whole, four-parted institution.

The Wadleigh School has gone through a similar and nearly parallel development, the number of teachers having grown to a little over one hundred. Provision has been made for four annexes, in widely separated sections of the city. The Morris School has been extended to two annexes and has a force of seventy teachers.

The regular high school enrolment of this chief borough of New York City has grown, then, in five years from nothing to not far from ten thousand; and there is no sign as yet that the annual increase has reached its term. An attendance of several hundred is expected at the new High School of Commerce, when it shall open in the fall of 1902. A manual training high school is expected to appear, although the steps toward its establishment have halted for a time. And the stronger private schools of the city are prosperous as ever, and go on their way undisturbed by this great expansion in the public schools.¹

The third group of recent tendencies to be discussed in these chapters is that looking toward a better adjustment of our secondary education to the needs of individual students. In this we find ourselves dealing not only with

¹ In the preparation of this sketch of the recent high school movement in New York, I have had the assistance of Mr. Harry Hopkins Hubbell, a graduate student in the Teachers College of Columbia University. *The Journal of the Board of Education* for 1896-97, and the *annual reports* of the City Superintendent of Schools are the chief sources of information.

changes in the organization of schools, but still more with a tendency affecting the underlying theory of education.

For several generations our secondary education worked on as best it might, feeling its way among the influences of tradition, of social unrest, of political and religious revolution, with very little attempt at the interpretation of those influences under the guidance of any comprehensive theory. This was especially true of that dominant side of secondary education which was chiefly concerned with preparing students for college matriculation. So far as the cultivation of educational doctrine with reference to education in "fitting-schools" is concerned, the greater part of the nineteenth century was a barren and desolate period indeed.

In the meantime a deep interest had been aroused in the theory of elementary education. Under the influence of the better normal schools, this interest was widely propagated and was made to awaken some real professional spirit among the teachers and supervisors of elementary schools. Much of the educational theory so spread abroad was superficial; and much that had been far from superficial in its original setting-forth was misunderstood and misapplied by its expounders and adherents. But a sincere effort was making toward rationalized processes and rational criticism, and that is a thing of great price. From another point of view and in a very different way, the theory of education was studied profoundly and set forth in luminous addresses and reports by a notable line of college presidents. But in college faculties and in the teaching force of a large part of our secondary schools there reigned a settled indifference if not a positive opposition to the study of educational questions with reference to their bearing upon education. If this condition of things is now passing, the change is mainly due on the one hand to the educational spirit and influence of a few great college and university presidents, and on the other hand to the spirit and influence of the normal schools.¹

¹ With few exceptions, the normal schools have not concerned themselves to any great extent with the problems of secondary education, being necessarily

Even now one would hardly venture to say that we have any full-rounded theory of secondary education. But we have a new and better professional attitude. School men are more disposed to take account of theoretical considerations in the attempt to solve school problems.

Such theoretical considerations as have been brought into prominence have been drawn from various quarters. We shall take note here of only one group—that which has been drawn from the study of adolescence as a stage of individual development. The modern movement of general educational theory was, in its earlier stages, predominantly psychological, with a strong tendency toward a rather abstract individualism. This new movement affecting the special theory of secondary education has been taking a similar course, with this important difference that it draws upon the later and not the earlier psychology. *Adolescence* has become a fad-word in some quarters; but it cannot be doubted that one of the main aspects of any comprehensive doctrine of this stage of education will always be that which

preoccupied with the training of teachers for the elementary schools. But the educational spirit which they have fostered has been working far beyond the sphere of their direct influence.

Many of the normal schools have had to do with secondary education in other ways which might properly have received notice in such a work as this. Their own courses of instruction have sometimes offered the best training of secondary grade accessible in large sections of our land, and they have been resorted to accordingly by students who had no intention of teaching for a longer period than might be required of normal school graduates by law or by rule of the several boards of management. In some cases, too, the normal schools have maintained high school departments, or offered parallel courses of instruction in the classics and other studies not found in the usual normal school curriculum.

When the name "normal school" was at the height of its popularity, there appeared many private schools, especially in the southern and middle western states, which bore this designation and offered instruction in a great variety of subjects, some pedagogical, others such as are commonly found in the program of secondary schools. These institutions, some of them cheap and poor and some of more respectable standing, have been the main dependence, for secondary education, of a considerable clientage.

Cf. NEWELL, M. A., *Contributions to the history of normal schools in the United States*, in *Rept. Comr. Ed.* for 1898-99, II., pp. 2263-2470.

depends upon a knowledge of the normal stages and processes by which children pass, through youth, up into mature manhood and womanhood.

The trend of these studies in their bearing upon educational problems was discussed four years ago by Dr. William H. Burnham in an address before the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools.¹ Dr. Burnham held that the current dissatisfaction with the results of our secondary school training is due in large measure to the fact that "we have devoted attention to the content of culture and to the scholastic product to the neglect of the object of culture — the growing youth." From the standpoint of psychology and anthropology, the youth of high school age presents certain developmental characteristics which are of great importance. About this time comes a period of accelerated growth, with attendant increase of vitality. There appears a liability to certain nervous diseases, which may, however, be outgrown. Great differences are found to exist among children of this age as to their liability to fatigue. These differences may be measured through outward manifestations. It has been proposed that students be graded according to their ability to do mental work without fatigue.

This is a period of functional acquisition and readjustment. Mental change and psychical activity appear in "intellectual awakening, the storm and stress of doubt, the conversions, the intense emotional life, the fluctuating interests and enthusiasms, the general instability, and not infrequently the moral aberrations and perversities." How far the period of accelerated growth coincides with or differs from that of increased intellectual activity is an open question.

Secondary education, according to Dr. Burnham, may be

¹ See *School Review*, V., pp. 652-665. The paper was entitled *Suggestions from the psychology of adolescence*. The discussion of the paper by the Association is reported, *loc. cit.*, pp. 666-683. Dr. Burnham did not undertake to give any complete pedagogical evaluation of the results of studies in this field; but I have not seen any later presentation which does so much in this direction as the paper referred to, and have accordingly gone back to it for this summary.

adapted to the needs of developing youth in some such ways as these:

1. By understanding the greatness of the opportunity. "The teachers in the higher schools have their pupils at this period of functional acquisition and readjustment, when they are open to new impressions with almost hypnotic susceptibility."

2. It is a time for many-sided interest and self-revelation; for self-assertion; for increasing self-direction.

3. It is a time for much activity, bodily and mental, which the school should turn into legitimate channels.

4. There are great individual variations at this stage of development: hence the schools should "demand an educated teacher and give him freedom."

5. "The opinion is still prevalent that the elementary teacher needs special training, but that the secondary teacher is such by the grace of God and the authority of one's alma mater." Over against this view should be set the demand that the secondary school teacher shall have professional training, which shall include a study of the psychology of adolescence.

6. The ordinary college entrance examination is too narrow a test of "the manifoldness of adolescent character." It should be supplemented by a report from the candidate's teacher in the secondary school, covering those qualities — physical and moral as well as intellectual — which must be known before the candidate's fitness to undertake the higher studies can fairly be determined.

The suggestion was repeated that the evils affecting our secondary and collegiate education are due to the lack of an understanding of adolescence rather than to faults of the curriculum. The demand that a psychological rather than a purely logical arrangement of studies should be followed, was illustrated by reference to the Frankfort plan, which the speaker warmly approved.

At the same session of the New England Association, Dr. Fred W. Atkinson, then principal of the Springfield, Massachusetts, high school, presented a paper on *The capacities of*

secondary school students, the general trend of which was in harmony with that presented by Dr. Burnham. An extended discussion followed the reading of these papers, which showed that a new direction had been given by them to the thought of the Association, and that the suggestions which they offered were cordially welcomed.

The new emphasis upon the study of adolescence has profoundly influenced the spirit of our secondary education, and such change as it has produced has generally been a change for the better. Its chief significance thus far lies in this general and pervasive influence, rather than in any specific reform or constructive undertaking to which it has given definite direction. Strong protests have been uttered against the excessive individualism which it is supposed to foster, and more fundamental objection has appeared against any attempt to base a theory of education upon psychology alone. But the working out of any comprehensive theory in this field is largely a task for the future.

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The report of a notable debate on this subject in the New England Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools may be found in the *Official Report* of the annual meeting of that society for 1892; and in *School and College*, I., pp. 519-534 (opening address by Mr. FRANCIS A. WATERHOUSE), and pp. 556-564 (discussion). A series of papers on the same subject runs through volumes V. and VI. of the *Educational Review* (1893). The contributors are CYRUS NORTHRUP, V., pp. 187-188; MERRILL E. GATES, pp. 189-191; JAMES H. CANFIELD, pp. 291-292; O. M. FERNALD, pp. 292-295; MARTIN KELLOGG, pp. 384-388; JOHN TETLOW, pp. 388-391; CHARLES K. ADAMS, VI., pp. 69-70; E. W. COY, pp. 70-73; LUCY M. SALMON, pp. 223-241. Information concerning the institutions in which the system has been adopted is presented in the *Rept. Comr. Ed.*, 1894-95, v. II., ch. XXV., *Admission to college by certificate* (pp. 1171-1188). See also the paper by President JAMES B. ANGELL, *Relations of the university to public education*, in *Proc. N. E. A.*, 1887, pp. 146-151; that by Professor FREDERICK SLATE, *The relation of the university to secondary schools*, in *The University* [of California] *Chronicle*,

I., pp. 498-514 (December, 1898); and in volume II. of the same periodical, an article, *Accrediting of secondary schools*, pp. 54-64 (February, 1899).

The *Report of the Committee of Ten* was first issued by the Bureau of Education at Washington. When the original edition was exhausted, it was reprinted by the American Book Company. It was reprinted, also, with the omission of the valuable reports of the sub-committees, in the *Rept. Comr. Ed.* for 1892-93, II., pp. 1415-1448. Several of the more important articles which it called out are reprinted in the same volume of the *Rept. Comr. Ed.*, pp. 1448-1491; and there follows a bibliography of the discussion, pp. 1491-1494. The discussion of the *Report* in the National Council of Education is reproduced in *Proc. N. E. A.*, 1894, pp. 645-669.

The *Report of the Committee on College-Entrance Requirements* was printed by the National Association in pamphlet form. It appears also in *Proc. N. E. A.*, 1899, pp. 632-817.

For the College Entrance Examination Board, see the *Proceedings of the 13th, 14th, and 15th annual conventions of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland*; the *First annual report of the secretary*, in the *Ed. Rev.*, XXII., pp. 264-296, October, 1901; and *Documents*, nos. 1 to 6, issued by the Board.

The following articles are of value in their bearing upon the recent Catholic school movement:

BRANN, REV. H. A., D.D. The improvement of parochial schools. *The American Catholic Quarterly Review*, IX., pp. 238-253, April, 1884.

SHEA, JOHN GILMARY, LL.D. Catholic free schools in the United States: Their necessity, condition, and future. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 713-725, October, 1884.

MURPHY, REV. JOHN T. Catholic secondary education in the United States. *Loc. cit.*, XXII., pp. 449-464, July, 1897.

BURNS, REV. J. A., C.S.C. Catholic secondary schools. *Loc. cit.*, July, 1901. (Reprint, 14 pp.) Also in Report of the third annual conference of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States, pp. 25-38.

JENKINS, REV. THOS. JEFFERSON. The amenities of the school adjustment. *The Catholic World*, LIV., pp. 582-589, January, 1892.

O'MALLEY, AUSTIN, M.D., LL.D. Catholic collegiate education in the United States. *Loc. cit.*, LXVII., pp. 289-304, June, 1898.

CLARKE, RICHARD H., LL.D. What Catholics have done in the last hundred years. In official report of the Catholic Congress at Baltimore, 1889, pp. 164-177.

CONATY, RT. REV. MGR. THOMAS J. The Catholic college of the twentieth century. In Report of the third annual conference of the Association of Catholic Colleges of the United States, April 10, 11, and 12, 1901, pp. 5-22.

Other interesting papers appear in the Reports of the first and second of these conferences.

An interesting discussion of the merits and demerits of private school education appears in the *Educational Review* for March and May, 1902. The writers are MESSRS. GEORGE C. EDWARDS, A. FRANKLIN ROSS, and FREDERICK WHITTON. Compare SAUNDERS, LOUISE SHEFFIELD BROWNELL, *Private secondary schools for girls*, in *Ed. Rev.*, XX., pp. 357-364, November, 1900, and HULL, LAWRENCE CAMERON, *Private schools for boys*. Loc. cit., pp. 365-376.

The annals of the manual training movement are presented in a very interesting article by DIRECTOR C. M. WOODWARD, entitled *The rise and progress of manual training*, in the *Rept. Comr. Ed.* for 1893-94, I., pp. 877-949. There is a valuable mass of undigested material relating to this movement in the four volumes entitled *Art and industry*, edited by MR. ISAAC EDWARDS CLARK, and issued by the Bureau of Education. (Part 1, pp. 259 + 842, published 1885; part 2, pp. 148 + 1338, published 1892; part 3, pp. 53 + 1145, published 1897; part 4, pp. 56 + 1020, published 1898). Two more volumes in this series are in course of preparation. See also the monograph on *Art and industrial education*, by MR. CLARK in *Education in the United States*, II., pp. 707-767; and the two following articles:

PRITCHETT, HENRY S. Industrial and technical training in popular education. *Ed. Rev.*, XXIII., pp. 281-303, March, 1902; and

ROGERS, HOWARD J. The relation of education to industrial and commercial development. *Ed. Rev.*, XXIII., pp. 490-502, May, 1902.

For the bibliography of the study of adolescence, reference should be had to the several volumes of the *Pedagogical Seminary*. Attention should be called especially to the article by WM. H. BURNHAM, *The study of adolescence* (I., pp. 174-195); that by G. STANLEY HALL, *The moral and religious training of children and adolescents* (I., pp. 196-210); that by E. G. LANCASTER, *The psychology and pedagogy of adolescence* (V., pp. 61-128); that by G. STANLEY HALL, *The high school as the people's college versus the fitting school* (IX., pp. 63-73), and by the same author, *Adolescents and high school English, Latin, and algebra* (IX., pp. 92-105); and to the titles relating to adolescence which appear in the annual *Bibliography of child study*, prepared by MR. LOUIS N. WILSON (volume V. and each succeeding volume). See also the bibliography of *The psychology of adolescence* by WILL S. MONROE, in the *New York Teachers' Magazine*, V., pp. 280-282, October, 1899; and CHARLES C. VAN LIEW, *The curriculum of secondary education in the light of fundamental traits of adolescence*. San Francisco, 1901, pp. 15.

CHAPTER XIX

NOTES ON SCHOOL LIFE AND STUDIES

THE crowding of the curriculum with a multiplicity of subjects had already begun away back in the old academy days. Even then the studies which had to do with useful information were much in demand, and it was with them that the crowding took place. After the middle of the nineteenth century the demand for subjects of this sort on account of their usefulness was mightily reinforced by a demand for the same subjects on account of their scientific value.

The physical sciences were becoming more scientific through application of the principle of the conservation of energy and its several corollaries. The biological sciences were just escaping from the stage of classification and becoming for the first time scientific through the doctrine of organic evolution. The word *science* was taking on new significance. With the progress of scientific discovery, new vistas were opening up in every direction. Men came to expect every conceivable good at the hand of this new scientific thought, and for themselves and for others they desired encyclopedic knowledge.

Schools of every grade were profoundly disturbed by the rapid changes going on in the larger world of ideas. In the seventies or thereabouts, the tendency to overload the curriculum with scientific studies was accelerated by the action of some state legislatures, requiring candidates for the teacher's certificate to pass an examination in several of the sciences. In some portions of the country it was regarded as no small part of the service of the public high schools that they prepared their students to pass the teachers' examination.

Statutory provisions relating to this examination had accordingly an indirect, but prompt and powerful, influence upon high school courses of study.

How many other influences were working in the same direction, it would be hard to say. But the result was that "multiplicity of short information courses," particularly in the natural sciences, against which the Committee of Ten protested. A group of text-books bearing the titles *Fourteen weeks in chemistry*, and *Fourteen weeks* in each of several other subjects, attained a wide popularity at this time, and was highly characteristic of the tendency referred to.¹

The more recent history of studies can be traced in a series of carefully prepared statistical tables. It appears from the reports of the Commissioner of Education that between the years 1894 and 1900 the percentage of pupils in our secondary schools studying Latin, French, German, algebra, geometry, physical geography, physiology, rhetoric, and general history, was on the increase, the advance being especially marked in the case of Latin, algebra, geometry, rhetoric, and history. In the same period the percentage of those studying Greek, trigonometry, astronomy, physics, geology, and psychology declined. For a portion of the studies a report is presented covering ten years, from 1889 to 1899. In that time the percentage studying Latin had advanced from 33.62 to 50.29, and the advance in algebra, geometry, and general history, though less marked, was very noteworthy. In these years the actual number of students attending our secondary schools had increased from 367,003 to 655,227.

¹ It was my fortune to teach for a single winter in the high school of a small town in central Illinois. The course of study was three years in length and included twenty-four subjects, all required. In his senior year, the student in this school studied natural philosophy, zoölogy, civil government, essays, astronomy, physiology, universal history, mental philosophy, and chemistry, the most of them for one-third of the year each. I do not think this instance was at all exceptional. The school had then no laboratory and but little apparatus, and only two teachers were employed in the high school department.

It would seem that in spite of this enormous increase in attendance, the schools had been gravitating back toward concentration on a smaller number of studies, and those chiefly the central studies of the old humanistic curriculum with the omission of Greek. While Greek seems to have declined proportionately, the falling off was very slight, and the actual increase in the number of students studying that language was not far from twelve thousand. It is likely that physics, which shows the greatest retrogression in the ten-year period, had made greater advance than the most of the other subjects in methods of presentation. The percentage of students studying physics by laboratory methods, if it could be determined, would probably show a substantial increase.

On the whole, then, we may safely conclude that in their actual working our secondary schools, at the same time that they are increasing enormously in attendance, are becoming more conservative in their schemes of instruction, are less given to "short information courses," are more humanistic, and on the scientific side are doing more in the direction of an improvement of instruction than in that of the extension of studies.

We may note in passing that in the same period, despite the tremendous increase in attendance at higher institutions, the number of students in our secondary schools who were not preparing for college increased more rapidly than those who were; 18.66 per cent were preparing for college in 1889-90 and 14.05 per cent in 1898-99.

The report for the year 1899-1900 shows a reversal at several points of the tendency indicated in the preceding paragraphs. It is impossible to tell whether the change marks a new and opposite tendency or merely a temporary retrogression. The total number of secondary students advanced in the single year from 655,227 to 719,241; yet the percentage of these who were preparing for college rose at the same time from 14.05 to 14.53. The percentage of those studying German, rhetoric, English literature, and civics in-

creased; while a diminished percentage is recorded against all of the other subjects reported, namely, Latin, Greek, French, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, astronomy, physics, chemistry, physical geography, geology, physiology, psychology, and general history.¹

The actual courses of study in our secondary schools show considerable diversity. The determination of the curriculum is generally left, in our school laws, to the discretion of municipal or district boards of education, and private schools are limited only by the ends which they choose to serve. Yet the differences between neighboring schools or between the schools of different sections of the country are not so wide as one might expect. Owing to the extensive circulation of all sorts of educational literature, and the frequent meeting of teachers one with another in educational conventions, there is a surprising approach toward uniformity in the educational provisions found in all parts of the country. Even the poorer and more backward sections are often seen striving consciously and earnestly after the ideals proposed in more favored districts. High schools may be found having courses ranging all the way from one to six years in length; but the four-year course is still the generally recognized standard. Private schools have commonly a four-year course, though six-year courses are now found in some of the great boarding schools for boys. A few recent courses are presented, by way of example, in the Appendix.²

Within the past half-century, methods of instruction, and to a less degree the choice of topics, in secondary school subjects generally, have been profoundly influenced by the changes which have appeared in the study of the natural sciences. Stephen Van Rensselaer, in founding the first polytechnic school in the United States (in 1824), gave directions that chemistry and experimental philosophy should not be taught in that institution "by seeing experiments and hearing lectures, according to the usual method." Instead, the students should be required "to lecture and

¹ See Appendix A.

² See Appendix B.

experiment by turn, under the immediate direction of a professor or competent assistant. Thus by a term of labor, like apprentices to a trade, they are to become operative chemists.”¹

James C. Booth, an early student in the Rensselaer Institute, became professor of chemistry in the Franklin Institute at Philadelphia, in 1836, and opened a laboratory which is said to have been the first in the United States for instruction in chemical analysis and in the application of chemistry to the arts. Six years later he became an instructor in the Central High School of Philadelphia; but the laboratory facilities of that school at the time, and for many years thereafter, seem to have been insignificant. In 1862, however, a visitor to the school reported that the laboratory, such as it was, was of great use, the students being taught to perform the experiments in chemistry for themselves. In 1868 more complete provision was made for such laboratory work, and an assistant was regularly employed for this purpose.²

In the seventies and early eighties the establishment of laboratories in which experiments and observations should be made by the pupils themselves became much more common. Within the past ten or fifteen years the requirement by some of our foremost colleges of laboratory work on the part of those who would offer one of the natural sciences as a part of their preparation for college matriculation, has given a great impetus to this movement. In 1897 it was reported that in Massachusetts 66 high schools were provided with good laboratory facilities, 80 had fair or limited facilities, and 98 had poor facilities or none. We have seen that in the state systems of New York and Minnesota particular attention is paid to the laboratory equipment of the

¹ Quoted by T. C. MENDENHALL in BUTLER, *Education in the United States*, II., pp. 557-558.

² EDMONDS, *History of the Central High School*, pp. 57, 179, 200-201, 211-213. See also Mr. Edmonds' account of the establishment of the high school observatory, in 1840, *op. cit.*, ch. 5. This is said to be the fourth observatory in this country in the order of their establishment, the first being that of Yale College, erected in 1830.

schools. And the noble and extensive buildings which have been erected in recent years for the high schools of many of our great cities, have provided laboratories such as could hardly have been found in our best colleges a generation ago.

In these laboratories students perform representative experiments in the science they are pursuing, under the guidance and subject to the criticism of the instructor. These experiments are commonly regarded as illustrative of or preparatory to the statement of principles in a text-book, though some would go so far as to let the laboratory manual supersede the ordinary text-book altogether. The "method of re-discovery" has influenced the practice of the schools; yet there are probably few school laboratories in which the students are expected to re-discover on their own account the laws of physics or chemistry or any other of the sciences. A fine blending of discovery, verification, and correction, seems to be the ideal of our best teachers of natural science. Much stress is laid on the accurate recording of observations and experiments. The students' note-books serve as one of the chief tests of the excellence of their work. Oral and written recitations by the students fill a large place in the work of each term. All this is vastly different from the prevailing method of a generation ago.

The lecture system, to be sure, has never occupied a large place in our secondary schools. Clearness of exposition has always been, and will doubtless always be, an important element in a teacher's equipment for teaching. Skilful instructors have at all times exercised themselves to help their pupils over difficulties in such manner as would prepare them to surmount future difficulties for themselves. And we read of old-time masters who were famous for their ability to ask searching and stimulating questions. But set lectures have never found favor here. The text-book was until recently the main reliance in school instruction, even for classes in the natural sciences.

The recent extension of laboratory exercises, together with

the proportionate reduction of text-book study, represents a fundamental change of view as to the function of instruction. We find accordingly that a similar advance has been made in the treatment of other branches than the natural sciences. The attempt is made to put the student in touch with first-hand materials of knowledge; and to guide and stimulate him to the end of making over these crude facts into real knowledge for himself. This procedure seeks to give full recognition to both the ideal and the sensuous elements in knowledge, and it indicates some appreciation of the fact that the ideal element to be truly ideal must be supplied by the active agency of the student's own thought, exercised upon the products of his own experience.

In the practice of the schools, we find these principles applied, for example, to the teaching of English. In the long endeavor to make English a substantial subject of instruction, there was an advance on the grammatical and rhetorical teaching to which reference has already been made. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Dr. John Seely Hart, a Princeton graduate, was setting an unusually high standard in the teaching of this subject at the Central High School of Philadelphia. Dr. Hart put into practical operation a proposal which has been made repeatedly, both before and since his day: That Anglo-Saxon be taught as one of the chief foundation stones of the English course. The study, however, did not meet with favor in Philadelphia, and was soon dropped from the programme of the school.¹ At the same time, Dr. Hart laid strong emphasis upon a study of the history of the English language and literature, and this subject soon came to be the dominant branch of instruction in English. Dr. Hart prepared text-books for use in this study, and other works of a similar sort appeared about this time, and within the years next following.

In some of these books selections from the authors studied constituted the bulk of the text, and the historical matter was subsidiary. But as the historical portion attracted

¹ EDMONDS, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-133.

more interest, the selections became subsidiary, or were relegated to a separate volume, to be referred to for illustration of the narrative. Shaw's *Manual*, as edited for use in the schools, is fairly representative of this stage of the movement.

As early as the seventies, some teachers saw the weakness of a course of instruction in which pupils were taught the history of the literature while the literature itself remained unknown.¹ It was not, however, until the colleges began to make definite requirements in this field that the literary study of English masterpieces became at all general in the schools or took on a definite scholastic character. In the eighties, the entrance requirements of Harvard College began to exert a large influence in this direction. The New England Association and the Association of the Middle States and Maryland followed with their proposed improvements. And now we find the students in our secondary schools getting some measure of that immediate acquaintance with English literature which Daniel Defoe and Benjamin Franklin looked for from afar. It may even be questioned whether the systematic study of rhetoric and of the history of English literature has not been unduly disregarded in this striving after an acquaintance with the veritable masterpieces.

The same general tendency has appeared in the teaching of history. This subject has been, perhaps, the most sadly neglected of all the main lines of study in our secondary schools. Even after Greek and Roman history came to be required for admission to the classical course in college, the

¹ Mr. J. B. McChesney, for many years principal of the high school at Oakland, California, has given me an interesting account of his early efforts to introduce a study of English masterpieces into that school. The matter was discussed with Edward Rowland Sill, then a teacher in the high school. This was in 1872. It was agreed that the change proposed was desirable, but books for the use of pupils were hard to get. Professor William Swinton was urged to supply the deficiency, but the resulting volume only partially served the purpose. A beginning was made, however, in the Oakland high school, with such editions of the desired works as could be got. Within a few years thereafter many school editions of such masterpieces became available.

subject was commonly treated as merely incidental to the main lines of school instruction. The history of the United States was still more seriously neglected. The high schools too commonly expected the grammar schools to give all needed instruction in that subject. The colleges have not given it serious attention as a matriculation subject till within the past few years.

But this state of things is rapidly changing. Within a decade several serious works have been put forth looking to the improvement of historical instruction. The question of method most earnestly discussed of late among teachers of history is that relating to the place and use of the original materials, "sources," of history. And while opinions and practices differ widely, such materials are much more largely employed in the schools than they were in former years.

The tendencies of method in other subjects show some connection with those in the subjects already referred to. In the study of modern languages, facility in conversation is not commonly sought; though there are schools here and there which lay great stress upon this acquisition. The ability to read the languages readily and with understanding, and to enter into an appreciation of their literatures, are the ends chiefly striven for. To these ends grammatical study is of course necessary. But the grammar is studied, on the whole, less abstractly than formerly, and more in its actual embodiment in literature.

Greater effort is made now than a generation ago to gain a reading knowledge of the ancient classics. More hope is held out to classes in Latin and Greek, that they may, with attention, attain to such mastery. There is much difference of opinion among leading teachers as to the proportionate attention to be paid to "sight reading;" and as to the value of the "inductive method" in the mastery of grammatical principles: but actual practice seems to be tending slowly toward a middle course, which retains much of the old-time thorough discipline in Latin and Greek grammar, but brings this training into more vital connection with the study of

classic literature. The writing of Latin verse is generally discarded. Prose composition is receiving increased attention, and is now more imitative in its character than formerly, being commonly based on the Latin or Greek masterpiece which the class is studying at the same time. Emphasis, possibly too great, is laid on exact pronunciation and expressive reading. The question of approaching Attic through modern Greek has been warmly discussed, but the proposed change finds little if any acceptance in actual practice.

In mathematics, much stress is laid upon the original demonstration of theorems, particularly in plane and solid geometry. It appears from time to time that instruction in mathematics is weakened by a failure to insist upon the use of accurate language in demonstrations; and from time to time fresh efforts are put forth to strengthen the work on this side. At the present time especial stress is laid in some quarters upon the need of more careful and accurate English expression in all school exercises. The attempt to teach English expression, oral and written, simply through the medium of instruction in other branches does not promise well; but there is, fortunately, a growing recognition of the fact that all teachers must have at least some share in the responsibility for such instruction.

The improvement of method in teaching, and the betterment of secondary instruction with reference to the choice and arrangement of materials, have been quickened by the growth of a literature of secondary education. Except for school text-books we have had nothing to correspond even remotely with the *Gymnasial-pädagogik* of the Germans, until a very recent day. The annual reports of a few associations and two or three special periodicals prepared the way for such a literature, but its beginning may fairly be dated from the publication of the *Report of the Committee of Ten*, in 1893. Other important reports have followed; and the earlier volumes of two important series of special handbooks,¹ give promise of better things in this pedagogic field.

¹ The *Teachers' professional library*, edited by President Nicholas Murray Butler, and published by the Macmillan Company; and the *American teachers'*

The relation of the public high schools to instruction in religion is suggestive of that great movement toward the secularization of education which has been going on in many lands. The old academies had pretty generally taken their stand on the ground of non-sectarian religious instruction. The earlier high schools occupied a similar position. But the great educational awakening, with the new development of public schools which it fostered, the rapid increase of our Roman Catholic citizenship with the resulting educational controversies, and other influences arising from our national expansion and internal development, tended to drive the schools from this ground toward a more distinct religious neutrality.

Back of those influences which have been enumerated has undoubtedly been that profound movement of modern thought which is seen in the shifting of emphasis from the doctrinal (dogmatic or metaphysical) to the ethical side of our world-view. Countless forces and tendencies have been at work bringing about this change. It has affected theology as well as education, and is bound up with many movements in other departments of human affairs.¹ One significant aspect of the general tendency has appeared in the formation of the Society for Ethical Culture, established by Dr. Felix Adler in our Centennial Year, which is both symptom and contributory cause of the change we are considering. And apart from any religious or other organized school of thought, the leaven of this manner of thinking has been working among our people.

series, edited by Dean James E. Russell, and published by Longmans, Green, & Co.

¹ THOMAS THACHER said in 1807: "It is to be lamented that moral and social virtue is not more frequently inculcated from the pulpit, and that it is so little taught in our schools of learning. A compendium of ethics is both necessary and much wanted." He thought Cicero's *Offices*, supplemented from "the sublime morality of the New Testament," might serve this purpose. See *A discourse delivered at Milton*, etc.

There is a luminous note on the shifting of emphasis in Christian apologetics, in Professor G. H. Howison's *The limits of evolution and other essays*, pp. 264-266.

In different portions of this wide land the educational outcome of this tendency is various in kind and degree. There is not uncommonly found in our public schools, both elementary and higher, a prevalent and pervasive religious atmosphere, an influence emanating from the personal character of the instructors. In many of these schools it is still customary to open the daily session with the reading of a passage from the Bible or the repetition of the Lord's Prayer; or with the singing of a devotional or patriotic hymn. But whatever there may be of religious tone and spirit in these schools is of a very general and unobtrusive sort, and far removed from ecclesiasticism. Teachers wholly indifferent to dogmatic religion or in known opposition thereto are freely employed in the schools; but would probably be found to constitute but a small minority of the teaching force of the country. In some high schools elementary ethics is taught, along with elementary psychology, or perhaps economics. But this is unusual. The moral force of the high school depends, then, mainly on the personal influence of the teachers in their instruction in the ordinary school subjects; on the government of the school; and on the relations of the students one with another.

Some subjects of instruction offer especial advantages as regards the formation of high ideals of conduct. The teaching of literature, and particularly the literature of the mother tongue, is found to be of great value in this respect—the more so, perhaps, when untimely moralizing is dispensed with, and noble sentiments are permitted to make their appeal through the charm of their artistic presentation. Choice works of plastic and pictorial art are rapidly finding their way into our schoolrooms. There is hardly any systematic study of æsthetics in the programmes of the schools. These works are expected to accomplish their mission by their mere presence, supplemented sometimes by an informal discussion of their merits; or they serve to reinforce the æsthetic side of instruction in literature and in drawing. In some schools music is steadily cultivated, and

holds an honored place. The study of history at the hands of teachers who treat it as a record of real human activities — not reading into it impossible moralities nor making it a mere play of physical forces nor, worse yet, deadening it down into technical erudition — is full of ethical vitality. So it has shown itself to many students in recent years.

But skilful teachers make instruction in all subjects, moral — by arousing a pure desire for truth, a spirit of intellectual honesty, a will to work and to overcome difficulties, and a long line of modest and every-day virtues.

It is a little difficult to get any comprehensive survey of our middle school teachers. They belong to a profession that is slowly and painfully shaping itself into a real profession. Even yet the professional standards which obtain in the teaching bodies of different states and even of different communities in the same state are various and variable.

A Massachusetts report for the year 1897 shows that one per cent of the high school teachers then employed in that state were graduates of scientific schools, 13 per cent of normal schools, 66 per cent of colleges, and the remaining 20 per cent unclassified.¹

In the state of New York, in 1898, 32 per cent of the teachers in secondary schools — not including principals — were college graduates, 39 per cent were normal school graduates, 19 per cent were high school graduates, and 10 per cent had had other training. These figures include private academies as well as public high schools. They include, moreover, one-year, two-year, and three-year schools, as well as fully developed high schools and academies. At the same time and in the same schools, of the principals, 51 per cent were college graduates, 35 per cent were normal school graduates, 8 per cent were high school graduates, and 6 per cent had had other training.²

An inquiry into the preparation of teachers in the secon-

¹ HILL, *How far the public high school is a just charge*, etc., appendix, p. 1.

² *University of the State of New York, High School Department, Sixth annual report*, pp. 336-340. Interesting information with reference to teachers' salaries is added.

dary schools of California, made in the fall of 1897, showed that of 522 teachers then employed in the public high schools of the state, 308, or 59 per cent, were college graduates. An incomplete list prepared three years later showed, among other things, that over one per cent of the high school teachers of the state at that time held the doctorate in philosophy.

A committee of the National Educational Association — known as the "Committee of Fifteen" — reported in 1895, among other topics, on the training of teachers for secondary schools. This committee declared that "The degree of scholarship required for secondary teachers is by common consent fixed at a collegiate education." They proposed a course of special training for such teachers, consisting of instruction during the senior year of the college course in psychology, methodology, school systems, and the history, philosophy, and art of education; and a graduate year of practice in teaching, under close supervision, supplemented by advanced studies in educational theory.

This proposal is far in advance of common practice or requirement. Very few of the American states make any specific requirement for the high school teacher's certificate beyond that for a license to teach in the elementary schools.¹ There are, on the other hand, many secondary schools in which teachers rarely obtain employment, if at all, unless they are college graduates; and there are large sections of the country in which common usage is rapidly tending in this direction. In many of our leading universities a teacher's recommendation or certificate is granted only to such graduates as have taken a substantial course of studies in the history, theory, and practice of education. And the Teachers College at Columbia University is setting a high standard of requirements for prospective teachers in secondary schools.²

¹ One notable exception is the state of California.

² See the report on *The certification of college and university graduates as teachers of the common schools*, in the *School Review* for June, 1899, pp. 331-371.

The latter half of the nineteenth century gave us a goodly number of schoolmasters, in both public and private schools who are worthy to rank with the best in our history. The career of some of those mentioned in the chapter on teachers in the academies overlaps this period. Others, among the best of that half century, are still among us, and many of them in the full vigor of active life. It will be a pleasant undertaking of some future historian to tell of their work and influence. Still others have fallen, whose memory is cherished by their pupils and fellow laborers.

John S. Hart, who was principal of the Central High School of Philadelphia during the middle years of the century, is one of the most marked figures in our early high school history. Through hard struggles, he had gained a college education. His breadth of scholastic training was united with a clear perception of the needs of the "common people." He understood the mission of his school, and by wisely directed efforts he drew to it the attention and the support of the community. It was a fortunate thing for that institution that it had Alexander Dallas Bache to clear the ground and Principal Hart to lay the foundations for its great undertaking.

Phillips Brooks made Francis Gardner his representative schoolmaster of the nineteenth century. A man in whom radical and conservative elements were strangely mixed, a man who suffered and who often made those about him suffer, his unsparing truthfulness left a lasting impression on the character of the better-endowed of his students. The established routine of the school had a strong hold upon him; and when the diverse popular aspirations and strivings which have been the life of the high school movement, jostled roughly against the Boston Latin School in the early seventies, he was disturbed and distressed, and in all likelihood did not fully comprehend the changes which were taking place.¹

¹ For Francis Gardner, see JENKS, *Historical sketch*, pp. 55-58, where diverse views are presented. The story of the changes, attempted and

Another early high school principal, Cyrus Knowlton, holds an honored place in the history of the Hughes High School of Cincinnati.¹ Among the great number of women employed in our public high schools have been many who have taken a high place, because of the excellence of their instruction and the ennobling influence of their personal character. It is a notable fact that not only in English literature, in which they are commonly supposed to do their most effective teaching, but in mathematics, not a few of them have achieved a marked success; and there is probably no department in which some of their number have not risen to a high grade of excellence. Among the masters of privately managed institutions, a high place must be given to Henry Augustus Coit, whose name is closely connected with the parental type of boarding-school management. The prompting to individual experiment has brought forth private schools even more plentifully within the past half-century than in the preceding period. The moving to teach has turned many men, and women too, in this direction, and worthy achievements have been wrought out in such undertakings, which cannot, however, receive separate notice here.

The government of our best secondary schools, and even of many of the smaller schools, which are comparatively unknown, presents much which may be regarded with genuine satisfaction. The relations of teachers and students are comparatively informal. There is little consciousness of official or artificial barriers between them. While strict disciplinary measures are often found necessary and are often enforced with vigor, the prevalent type of high school and academy government is that which treats the students as if they were already ladies and gentlemen, and throws them as far as possible on their own resources. Some interesting and successful experiments have been made in

accomplished, in the plan of the Latin School, from 1868 to 1878, is told by Principal Merrill, *Id.*, pp. 66-75. It is highly interesting and suggestive.

¹ *Annual of the alumni*, 1870.

the organization of regular systems of self-government among students. It would seem, however, that only a principal who has the strength and skill to govern well is capable of making a school into a truly self-governing body.

Under any system of government, the social life of the school is the chief teacher of morals. The social organization of secondary school students is for that reason, and for others as well, of very great importance. Public high schools, private schools, and academies are much alike in this respect, and distinctively ecclesiastical establishments are not far different. The instinct of association is strong in our youth, and it finds expression in all sorts of clubs, leagues, societies, and fraternities. The example of the colleges has been influential in the schools in this particular. The several classes are commonly organized, with class officers, and have occasional gatherings of a social character. The offices of the highest class in school are sought for with keen competition. Athletic associations, football and baseball clubs, and the like, are usually maintained. Several schools are often joined in an athletic league; and the annual field days are great occasions in the school year. The athletic records and trophies of a school are very highly prized. Debating clubs and other literary societies are maintained with much interest. Contests in debate with neighboring schools call forth a spirit of emulation like that displayed in athletic struggles. Musical organizations are perhaps less common, but are among the most pleasing of school societies. Annual publications by successive classes present a record of the varied interests of the larger schools, and afford a field for budding literary and artistic genius to show its quality. Secret, Greek-letter societies are sometimes formed after the fashion of the colleges. Not unfrequently, too, voluntary associations for religious culture and observance are maintained by the students. All of these organizations are commonly under the immediate control of the students themselves; teachers

frequently attend the various meetings, but more as friendly advisers than as governors.

Those who have completed the course of study in a flourishing secondary school will usually be found organized in an alumni association. The monthly or annual meetings of such an association become of increasing significance as the years pass and its numbers and influence are enlarged.

An account of the development of student activities in the past half-century would throw much light on the inner educational tendencies of our secondary schools. In the published histories of individual schools and in the occasional chapters of reminiscence by old-time masters and pupils, there is slowly accumulating a deal of information which will enable some historian of school life to tell the story and declare its meaning.

For the Phillips Exeter Academy, the story has been well told by Mr. Cunningham. Boating was introduced into that institution in 1864. The four-oared boat, *Winona*, was the pioneer craft, and it explored a new realm of sport which the boys were happy to enter and possess. Cricket and baseball appeared the following year. This was about the time when baseball was first winning its way into public favor and recognition as the national game. It soon drove cricket from the Exeter field.

In 1871 the trustees bought new athletic grounds and the school sports assumed a new importance. The first recorded game of baseball with an outside nine was in 1875, when the Academy boys defeated the Eagle Club of Exeter by a score of 28 to 12! The interest in baseball still centred in games between nines representing the several classes. But in 1878 Exeter defeated Andover in their first inter-academy game, and in the return game Andover defeated Exeter.

Football in the sixties was still the old-fashioned game. But in the seventies it took on a more modern form, and the football struggle with Andover began the same year as that in baseball. The lengthening record of this never-

ending contest is preserved with care in both institutions, and whatever their scholastic announcements may say, it is a noteworthy part of their educational equipment. Track athletics have been added, and here the "record" has a new meaning, of no small significance.

The *Exonian*, a paper managed by a close group of students, made its appearance along with inter-academy athletics. It was not easy for either teachers or pupils to understand at first how the freedom of the press in school could be compatible with good order and student subordination. But a better understanding came with experience, and now at Exeter as elsewhere student publications are very much a matter of course.¹

Mr. Edmonds has given a more extended account of student activities in the Central High School of Philadelphia. This school has had a strong journalistic bent, and has sent out such effective writers as George Alfred Townsend and Henry George, with many others well known in newspaper circles. A surprising list of student publications issued before the Civil War, is preserved. One of these, *The Minute Book*, was issued as early as 1849, and it is said to have had "contemporaries and rivals." During this same period the school abounded in literary societies; and there was a "Literary Congress," in which each society was represented by three delegates.

Journalism languished in the school during the Civil War, but after that struggle it was revived. Many ventures ran each a brief career; but with the setting up of *The Mirror*, in 1885, the literary activity of the students found a well-ordered and well-established means of expression.

The centre of student interest, which in the days of President Hart was found in the various literary and debating societies, seems to have shifted within the past generation to athletics. Before the war, there was but little organized sport in the school, though the playground was the scene of some lively games, and town-ball, a forerunner of baseball,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 272 ff.

aroused considerable interest. The change has come gradually. It had hardly begun until the seventies. In the Centennial year an athletic association was formed. Football was then played, somewhat after the manner of the Harrow game. There were a few games with neighboring institutions. The next year the team set about mastering the Rugby rules. A regular field day was held in 1876, the records of which have been preserved.

Baseball was still the favorite game, and so continued well on into the eighties. The formation of the Intercollegiate Football Association in 1884 quickened the interest in football in the schools as well as the colleges. The great development of active student life in recent days is dated from the school year of 1888-89. A school yell was adopted, and prodigious interest in football was aroused. At the present time there are six regular forms of athletic activity in full progress. They are football, baseball, rowing, track athletics, basket-ball, and cricket.¹

In this school, as in many others, the athletic interest is found to serve good ends. At the same time that this fact is recognized, there is much regret expressed that debating clubs and other literary societies do not flourish as in former years. The best school men are generally interested, sincerely and deeply, in the athletic activities of their students, but would be glad to see other wholesome forms of student activity as well sustained.

¹ EDMONDS, *History of the Central High School*, ch. 11 and 12.

CHAPTER XX

THE OUTLOOK¹

THE keynote of current educational thought seems to have been sounded by Professor John Dewey in his saying that, *The school is not preparation for life: it is life.* Education is to provide for the future needs of pupils by providing for their real present needs. One of the most notable and comprehensive tendencies of secondary education, and of all education, is accordingly the tendency to seek an understanding of the living, growing persons who go to school; and to treat them in a way to promote their healthy growth. This doctrine is sound at bottom. Persons are the most precious things in all the world; and child persons are as precious as persons fully matured. In this view we have true humanism. It is a view that makes the school interesting. It is moral; for what is morality after all but fulness of personal life? It is religious, too. "The knowledge of ourselves," said John Calvin, "is not only an incitement to seek after God, but likewise a considerable assistance toward finding him."

On the one side, such doctrine as this is leading us into individualism. It prompts the demand for free election of studies in the secondary school; for individualized processes of instruction.

On the other side, the study of development has shown how strangely dependent the individual is on his social

¹ The greater part of this chapter was given in an address on *Recent tendencies in secondary education*, delivered before the annual Convocation of the University of the State of New York, at Albany, July 2, 1901. Considerable change has been made, however, in the revision of that address for the present use.

relationships. We see, in fact, that there is nothing worth the name of human personality that has not arisen under the stress and strain of getting on with one's fellows. So we have come to attach new significance to the mere fact that in school many young people come together and have varied dealings one with another. We are seeing that social intercourse is not a mere accident of school education, but one of the chief things in school education.

We may go further, and say that the school is not only life: it is preparation for life. Just because it is life, it looks forward to more life. "The thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts." Any life that does not look forward is poor and mean; and we should make a losing bargain if we exchanged the old school that concerned itself only with the future, for a new school which should concern itself only with the present.

So our secondary education looks forward to the citizenship which awaits all of our students, and consciously prepares them for its duties. Whether they are destined for the more extended training of the university or not, it undertakes to direct their attention toward public affairs, well knowing that the time is already come for them to take anticipatory interest in such things. It takes account, too, of the fact that each citizen must have a life work peculiarly his own, in order to discharge his full obligation to the body politic. How secondary education may pay due regard to this fact and yet avoid the injustice of binding our youth at an early age to a course in life which may not be rightly their own, is one of the hardest problems with which we have to deal.

May I venture to add, that our secondary education looks to the larger life. It has a thought for life that is above and all about this life. We are finding that the eager adolescence of our academies and high schools is above all skeptical and religious. The two things go together and belong together at this age. Education does not altogether meet the needs of the present life of our youth if it does not verge upon the shadowy fields of things too real to be seen.

The more important tendencies of our secondary education seem to lie in the directions indicated above. Let us now examine them a little more closely.

1. And first some tendencies affecting our courses of study. A recent writer has said that "The time for the finishing school has gone by." With equal truth it may be said that the time for the "fitting school" has gone by. I do not mean by "fitting school" a school for the education of youth who are preparing for college, but rather a school which prepares for college whether it educates or not. The proper business of every school is education. The growing recognition of this fact is one of the most marked of present tendencies. The sharp distinction between preparation for college and "preparation for life" is fading out. It seems to be our present working hypothesis that, *so far as general culture is concerned, preparation for a higher school, rightly conceived, coincides with preparation for life.* This principle may not extend to secondary schools of a vocational character. It can hardly be accepted as a finality with regard even to schools of general culture. But it has stood examination and trial sufficiently well to warrant us in employing it as a working hypothesis.

We may put it in different ways. Secondary education which is not good enough for the purposes of the colleges is not good enough for the purposes of life. Schools of middle grade which fail to give good preparation for life, fail also to give good preparation for college. Either way you turn it, the doctrine calls for some re-examination of our school curriculums, and perhaps for some little change.

In the history of our courses of study, we began with one fixed and strongly unified course for all. The demand for a recognition of varied needs has led to numerous changes from this old, invariable standard. Parallel courses were first offered, each of them fixed and definite. Then options were allowed in one or all of these parallel courses. The number of such courses was increased. The range of options was enlarged. Then we began to hear of the doctrine of free

election. This seems to be the polar opposite of that fixed course for all with which we started. It was necessary for us to come to this extreme, and get a survey of the whole movement from this side, in order to find out just where in the intervening territory we belong.

One of the first things that appear from this sort of examination is the fact that English is an indispensable subject in any curriculum. This is admitted by nearly every one, even when it is not admitted that any other study is indispensable. English has taken the place occupied by Latin in the old curriculum. If other single subjects are not essential, we are coming to think that an outlook into certain other broad fields of study is necessary. The Committee of Ten led the way in pointing out this need, and the later Committee on College-Entrance Requirements has formulated a general plan under which the need may be met. In fact, the committee last named seems to have thrown a real Copernican suggestion into the midst of our confusion in this matter. What they have proposed will not differ very greatly in any given case from what is already customary in many schools. But it serves to show how the Ptolemaic tables of courses which many large schools present may be simplified in accordance with ideas which they really imply. Parallel courses with a fair number of options; election limited only by the requirement of "constants" in groups; and even free election under the direction of an efficient school principal, will all come in practice to pretty nearly the same thing: and what they come to is fairly represented by the recommendations of this national Committee on College-Entrance Requirements.

But what does it all amount to? We may put the case in some such way as this: Education from the cradle to the grave is largely a matter of keeping good company. For our adolescent, with his vibrations between the desire to be let alone and the extreme craving for companionship, habituation to good company is of prime importance. The school tends to set one free from mere dependence upon the actual

companionships of daily intercourse, extending the relationship, as it does, to the great and good of all times and all lands. It increases one's capacity for finding companions in the secret chambers of books and in the still more shrewdly hidden secrets of the material world. Our young scholar is a provincial of the provincials. He must now go to court, and come to know the wisest and fairest of this world. He is to be introduced to the best, and among them he may make such special friendships as he is fitted for.

Something like this, I believe, is the significance of Matthew Arnold's saying that in secondary schools the youth is to find "vital knowledge," though we may not make Matthew Arnold responsible for our interpretation of vital knowledge. It is only contact with the world of culture that can bring our young people out of their crude, provincial individuality; that can really vitalize their humanity. They must be brought into relations with that one world of culture, if they are to be made really alive. But they may touch it more intimately at some points than at others, for what is vital knowledge for one is not always vital knowledge for another.

These considerations suggest various conclusions. No study is worthy a place in our programme which has not commanded the full devotion of some master mind. All students must be introduced to the same civilization, and since all are human their several ways of approaching it will not be fundamentally different. What seems still more significant is this: Even if it be true that what is best for one student is a little different from what is best for another, the fact remains that each student needs for his own purposes a well-organized, unitary curriculum. I fear we are tending toward miscellaneous election from a miscellaneous mass of offered courses. But there is a deeper tendency, which will surely become dominant—a tendency toward organic election from what is offered, no matter how miscellaneous that may be. A different curriculum for each student, if you will; but a real curriculum.

One special question cannot be overlooked — the question of the status of classical studies. But little is heard here in these days of the old-time controversy over Latin and Greek in the schools. Perhaps it is because the battle has been won by the opponents of absolute requirements in these subjects. There are many true friends of Latin and Greek who are not friendly to required Latin and Greek; and the number of schools is now small indeed in which the student may not omit one or both of the classic languages.

It is significant that, at the same time, Latin is greatly on the gain in the schools. The case of Greek is different, and some good friends of classical learning are ready to predict that the study of Greek will at no very distant day be handed over to the colleges. The opening of courses in beginning Greek in some of the higher institutions is thought to point in this direction. The fact should not be disregarded, however, that while Greek has not quite held its own relatively, in secondary schools, the actual number of those studying Greek in the schools has greatly increased in the past decade.

On the whole, the enlargement of freedom is not working badly in its bearing on classical studies. If fewer students are pursuing such studies because required to do so or under the pressure of tradition, more are pursuing them from deliberate choice, either their own or their advisers'. And this may be hoped for in the future. It is not simply to be desired that all should study the ancient languages or that an increasing number should study them; but rather that those whose surest approach to vital knowledge is along the historical line that our civilization has followed since the north of Europe began to be civilized, shall follow that line freely and whole-heartedly. There will always be in this number a goodly proportion of the choicest spirits among us. It is highly desirable that they should have all stimulus and encouragement to do their best in their own best way; and it is equally desirable that those whose best approach to vital knowledge is along some other line should be equally encouraged and receive equal stimulus.

Whether through the classic literature or that of the modern languages, English included, or through some study of music and the other arts, a sound æsthetic culture should be more generally sought after in our schools. This is especially difficult in the education of our adolescents, with their callow contempt for beauty or equally callow sentimentality. Instruction in the appreciation of art that shall not degenerate into pretty nothings and that shall really touch and teach the soul of youth, will accomplish untold good, and ways will surely be found through which such instruction may actually be given.

Before leaving the question of the course of study, let us glance at the relation of the colleges to the schools. There has been a good deal of just complaint from the side of the schools, that the colleges shaped their entrance requirements solely with reference to what they believed to be their own needs, and not at all with reference to the conditions which must be reckoned with in the schools. Of late we have heard complaint from the side of college men that the secondary-school men were becoming too independent; that they expect the college to accept whatever they may offer. There is great hope for the future in this growing self-respect of secondary-school teachers. It suggests very pointedly that school and college should meet on common ground and work out their common problems together. It was a bad state of things when the question whether students preparing for college should take one study or another in the secondary school, could be decided by a compromise between rival college departments, represented in a faculty meeting, without a moment's consideration of what might be intrinsically best for the students themselves at this stage of their schooling. College faculties should remember that every vote which they pass relative to entrance requirements is legislation for the internal working of secondary schools. Such legislation should at least be based on some intelligent conception of the nature and functions of the secondary school.

To put it in other words: The question of college entrance requirements is a question of relationship between two institutions, each having its separate responsibility to the public. The college should set the secondary school the example of considering both terms of this relationship with perfect fairness. It has sometimes happened that the men of the academies and high schools have taken a more comprehensive view of this question than have the men of the colleges and universities.

One thing seems reasonably clear; and that is that this question of admission requirements is an educational question, and should be settled on educational grounds. It seems equally clear that the same form of settlement should be employed as that which serves in dealing with the larger question of the proper formulation of curriculums for all non-technical secondary schools. At least for present purposes, the method followed by the Committee on College-Entrance Requirements in this matter seems worthy of general acceptance, although some specific recommendations of this committee are open to objection.

We may draw up a second working hypothesis in some such terms as the following: *The interests of higher education will best be served by such prescription of college entrance requirements, and such tests of preparation, as will do the most to vitalize instruction in the secondary schools.*

2. There are many reasons why the question of teachers is more important than the question of studies. And the conviction is now well grounded that teachers of secondary schools as well as teachers of primary schools must be specially trained for their work. Twenty years ago this was not true. No one institution has done more to bring American schoolmen to a new mind in this matter than has Columbia University, with its Teachers College. But the pioneering was done by western state universities, and they do not intend to be left behind in a movement which has now become national. Voices will still be heard protesting against the newer demand for professional training on the

part of those who would teach in our high schools and academies. But the time is past when such objection can seriously hamper the general movement. Let it be added that the time is past when that movement can be seriously hampered by mistakes and inadequacies in the training attempted. But it is necessary that such mistakes and inadequacies be corrected as rapidly as possible, and such correction is now the order of the day.

What do we look for in our teachers? First, by all means, a moral quality that is more than negatively good — some real warmth of loyalty to righteousness; and, in addition, something that is contagious about it. It is the characteristic that it may be caught by others which elevates it from a merely personal quality to a teacher quality. Secondly, a gracious bearing, in full accord with such morals. A divorce of manners from morals is bad for both. Thirdly, a living intellect. To be such it must be active and must live on substantial food. Fourthly, the disposition to communicate and some aptitude for such communication. Fifthly, a readiness to improve and to co-operate with others in making improvement, which is what we understand by professional spirit.

Some of this must be got by birth or not at all. For such portion, training colleges are in no way responsible. Then there is a great deal to be done by way of improving natural endowments on the peculiarly personal side; but we only make ourselves tedious when we draw up for prospective teachers classified lists of moral virtues and their contrary vices. Better, so far as these things are concerned, encourage that self-respect which acts frankly its own part, and that respect for excellence which renders one responsive to good example.

We get down to the serious business of training in that which remains, and difficult questions here present themselves. Teaching is an art, and we shall disappoint the expectations we raise if we undertake to teach it wholly as applied science. But it is an art which is steadily drawing

nearer to the related sciences. At present it is more scientific than oratory, less scientific than medicine. It must then be mastered as an art, and as very intimately bound up with those personal qualities which it is so difficult to treat of apart from mere subjective sentiment. What sort of instruction is available here, if instructor and student would both maintain a proper self-respect?

For one thing, the faithful observation of good teaching done by others, as in the German *Probejahr*. A difficult thing this is to manage. It repays effort, however, if it awakens the conviction that one can learn from the best that is going on near at hand.

“Here work enough to watch
The Master work, and catch
Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play.”

Then practice teaching under guidance. Not enough of this to master the process, however. Such training sets and stiffens like a mould. But enough to enable the beginner to avoid waste of time and of child-material — costly stuff — in finding his own best way of doing his own work; enough, too, to discover and cast out the cases of born incompetence.

If the sciences do not yet dominate this art of teaching, as they already dominate the art of medicine, they are having more and more to do with it, especially the sciences of human development. Enough of this our prospective teacher should get to face him hopefully toward the scientific side of things, in confidence that more and more definite guidance in his art will come from that direction. Enough of the philosophy and history of education, too, to help him understand that education is a progressive aspect of human society, to put him in the attitude of co-operation with fellow schoolmen in furthering that progress. Finally, emphasis must be laid, all the time, on soundness of scholarship. The colleges that train our secondary-school teachers should give forth no uncertain sound in their re-

quirement of scholarly excellence. Otherwise they will be likely to fail in the whole of their undertaking. Even the morality of their students — the real if not the conventional morality — will be uncertain if their scholarly standards are low.

We may be modest in making claims with regard to the professional training toward which the teaching craft of our secondary schools is tending. But many signs show that the tendency is well under way; and with all of its present imperfections, the training offered is working gradually toward stability, solidity, and effectiveness.

Yet, after all is said, the discovery of teachers is as important as the making of teachers. The fact that so much of the real teacher-quality is inborn gives emphasis to this view. In part this discovery of teachers is the work of colleges and training schools. In part it is the work of superintendents and principals, and they should be highly trained and competent men themselves that they may discharge this duty intelligently. But in a larger sense the discovery is a result of a favorable organization of the whole set of conditions and associations which surround the teacher's calling. We look for real life, and life at its soundest and best, in these secondary schools. To have it, it is necessary that young men and women who represent our American life at its soundest and best, shall be drawn into teaching positions in these schools, and that those who show special aptitude for such work shall find good inducements to stay in it. Such inducements are the opportunity to do their work to good advantage, reasonably good salaries, and such social standing as will encourage self-respect on their part and on the part of their families. It is plain that these inducements are to be provided in part by the action of school trustees and boards of education and in part by the general attitude of the communities back of those boards. The real discoverer is the community, acting under such leadership as it may choose.

But there are other agencies at work. Whatever is done

to render education more professional tends to draw toward it men who have professional tastes. In this point of view, the teaching body is the discoverer. Excellence in the profession tends to attract and discover excellence. Every advance in the scientific, historical, or philosophical treatment of education tends to draw to it persons of intellectual taste and ability. In recent years we have seen men turning to education because of the marked improvement of our pedagogical literature. Then, the knitting together of the interests of our secondary schools and universities works in the same direction. In some parts of the country the teacher in a high school finds himself, in a way, brought into the life of the universities. The influence of such a relation is not to be disregarded.

Yet the chief responsibility comes back to boards of control and the communities to which the teachers minister. We cannot urge too strongly upon them the necessity that they discover superior teachers for their secondary schools, by making the teaching positions in those schools such as superior men can accept and hold without loss of self-respect. Within the past few years we have repeatedly seen first-class men throwing up high-school positions in disgust at the petty politics with which those positions were beset, or in despair of being able to provide for their families with the salaries which those positions offered. Such a state of affairs is deadening.

It is difficult to say conclusively whether the general movement of the time is forward or backward in these particulars; but we have reason to believe that on the whole we are improving. There are many indications that the standard of preparation for secondary-school positions is rapidly advancing. Partly as cause and partly as effect of this change, the general standing of secondary-school teachers in the community seems to be rising. A rapid increase in the number of college graduates seeking high school positions may prevent salaries from rising proportionately with other forms of public recognition, but we need not fear the ultimate outcome of this condition.

Within the universities there is observable a growing sentiment in favor of requiring a minimum amount of graduate work of students who are to be recommended as teachers in secondary schools. It has been suggested that this may lead in time to the recognition of the master's degree as the standard teaching degree. For many reasons this proposal seems worthy of serious consideration.

Speaking broadly, the doctrine that the school is real life may be expected to work to the advantage of teachers and teaching. It puts the school into closer touch with the home, and carries into the school the better standards of the community. The growth of wealth and the sharpening of social distinctions may in some measure negative this tendency; but in other ways it will be reinforced by those very conditions. It is not too much to expect that the new century will see a new generation of great schoolmen. If there has been no Thomas Arnold nor Edward Thring in our American schools, we have had many excellent teachers from Ezekiel Cheever down. Let our best men find encouragement and recognition, both public and fraternal, awaiting them within the teaching profession, as other men have found in other professions; and our teachers of world-greatness will in due time appear.

3. Some comparison of the tendencies of public and private education should be made; or, taking the two more characteristic forms, let us consider the public high school—a day school—on the one hand, and the private boarding school on the other.

The students in the high school are in daily touch with the home life and the general life of the community. In the boarding school the school life is for the time being the whole of life for the students. The disposition to regard school life as real life may be expected, then, to affect in different ways these two types of institution.

The high school is in some respects more in danger of isolation—of separation from the real life of its students—than schools of the other sort. It is possible for students

to have a whole range of interests belonging to the hours not spent in school, and even to think of school interests as relatively unimportant. What more frequently happens is that the outside interests mix in a great variety of ways with those of the school, with a result that is confusing in the extreme.

There is a strongly marked tendency in American communities to permit young people, while yet in the high school, to forestall the social pleasures which a more wholesome taste would reserve for later enjoyment. The aping of college society on the part of high-school students adds to this evil. The distractions referred to are for the most part innocent enough in themselves. But they detract from the seriousness of our secondary education, and tend to a certain pettiness of scholastic attainment.

The students in German day schools are almost as completely removed from the outer world in their hours out of school as if they lived within school walls; for the school authorities can do much toward regulating the home life in the interest of studies. Our American disposition is against this sort of regulation, and we must seek an American solution of the difficulty.

We have wished to see more of real life in the school, and here we find real life jostling the school in a way that is very embarrassing. The trouble is, however, that the school may be jostled by life without being in touch with life. The first thing, apparently, to be done by way of counteracting this tendency to distraction is to make the instruction in the school more vital — to bring it, in other words, into closer touch with the rest of life. The remark is very general, but this is not the place to enter into detail. And there are teachers who are translating the general principle into daily actuality, and making the things of the school more alive for their students than those interests that would attract them abroad. First, then, the instruction in the schools must have more of that living touch with reality. Then the public must be led to a better under-

standing of the place and need of the school. For this difficulty cannot be fully dealt with by dealing with individuals: it is a public matter and calls for a change of public sentiment. If the people are persuaded that the school is doing work of superior excellence and of immediate significance for real life, it will be able to make its way and accomplish its purpose even in one of our comfortable and happy communities where parents obey their children faithfully.

One thing should be added here: We are coming to understand that the various school societies, literary, musical, athletic, and the like, represent something that belongs to education, because it belongs to the real life of the pupil in the school. We cannot longer treat these things as mere incidents or accidents. The emphasis may be misplaced in many ways in dealing with them, but their integral connection with the other employments of the school must now be recognized.

Referring to the other type of school, we observe that private boarding schools seem divided between two ideals — that of the home and that of the college. All such schools must unavoidably be influenced by both of these ideals, though in varying degrees. In general they seem to be tending toward the increase of student responsibility for student conduct. Here, too, many things which were once regarded as side occupations — mere time-filling and play — are now seen to be vital to the educational function of the school. As regards athletics, we seem to have taken lessons from the English, who have long recognized the rightful interest of the school in the various schoolboy sports. It is significant that continental educators, too, are looking to England in this matter. It may be that football will supplant studies in English at the centre of the school curriculum, as English has already supplanted Latin! That is hardly to be expected; but the teacher who is hunting for the real boy to teach makes no mistake in the conclusion that a large part of him is on the field engaged in some vigorous game.

Private schools are sometimes organized for the avowed purpose of making experiment, and that usually along the line of some specific educational reform. Much good service has been done by the pioneer work of such schools. But by far the greater number of private schools are notably conservative, preferring to follow good precedent and good leadership. It is to be hoped that with the gradual relaxation of close prescription in college-entrance requirements, academies, and other privately managed institutions will undertake a wider range of judicious experimentation, and so lead the way to improvements in education in which the high schools may be able to follow them.

The possibility of giving special attention to individual needs is one of the chief advantages enjoyed in private institutions; and there is, perhaps, no particular in which they can do the whole world of education a greater service than in marking out the most effective methods of individual treatment. Many forms of individual need depend on physical and mental conditions which may be described as pathological. It is in such cases especially that education should add to its tact, science. By extending the application of scientific knowledge to such cases, private schools may point the way which public schools will eventually follow.

There are many signs of growing interest in religious education. The Roman Catholic Church, after many years of effort in the building up of primary schools on the one hand and colleges and universities on the other, is now turning its attention to the establishment of high schools. It is not at all unlikely that a marked increase in such schools may be seen in the near future. Other religious denominations, too, are showing much concern for the establishment of schools for education of a secondary grade. Of course, the religious motive is dominant in this movement.

But the studies of the past decade in the psychology of adolescence have emphasized the significance of religious forces in the stage of development with which all secondary education has to do. It is to be expected that many high-

school students will pass through times of great religious unrest which will have an important bearing upon their whole intellectual and moral development. The attitude of secondary-school teachers toward such facts will undoubtedly command a large measure of attention in the years that are just before us.

As the nature of the storm and stress period of youth comes to be better understood, the extreme delicacy of the problem of religious instruction in this period becomes more evident. Teachers in strictly denominational schools discover that their task is not so simple as the mere setting-forth of the doctrines they desire to inculcate. The formal acceptance of doctrines is found to count for little in real life, and particularly at this stage of life; while personal convictions are all-powerful. The teacher, accordingly, in a religious academy learns to be patient with callow skepticism and to let it run its course. He learns to let the young skeptic take devious paths of speculation, that he may approach the faith in his own way and arrive at settled confidence in his own time. Such a teacher is not inactive, to be sure, but puts in a timely word of caution, information, and sympathetic guidance; persuading the learner, when the occasion is opportune, that his new-recruited wisdom will become more wise when it falls into line with the best wisdom of his fellowmen, and steps out to music that has sounded the march of centuries.

The conscientious and scientific-minded teacher in the public high school cannot be unmindful of the fact that those under his instruction have the same sort of development to go through as those in private and church schools, and that at times the real life they are living from day to day is centred as much in their rising religious and philosophic doubt and aspiration as in their athletic or social interests. And he is at liberty to help them as the teacher in the private school helps his students, except in the one point of the doctrinal content of the religious consciousness. To some, this exception seems to cover everything of capital

importance. To others, it seems to relate to an altogether subordinate matter, or a matter that may better be treated apart from the ordinary school instruction, in a separate institution. It is well that free play is allowed under our system for the satisfaction of a wide range of tastes and convictions in this matter. A governmental monopoly is not desirable in any stage of our educational system; perhaps least of all at the secondary stage. The public schools must be non-sectarian for generations to come — probably as long as religious denominations shall exist. And we make no mistake when we regard such schools as constituting one of the crowning glories of our national life, and a strong support of much that is best in our American civilization. But private and denominational schools should be welcomed too, and recognized as having a work of their own to do — as supplementing the noble scheme of education under public management, which has been found so well suited to the general needs of our people.

We may hope, too, that fraternal relations between teachers of public and private schools will be more generally cultivated in the future than they have been in the past. Each of these great bodies of teachers needs the help of the other to stir it up in the way of making its instruction more thoroughly educational, which means more true to life. In the religious aspect of secondary instruction the teachers in schools of either type are working under limitation, but under limitation of different kinds. Subject always to such limitation, faithfully observed, all are responsible for helping their students past the danger of permanent skepticism, of mere absence of confidence and conviction; and toward such faith as shall give to each his best hold on hope and love and righteousness.

So we may say in general: The demand that is growing into some sort of dominance in the concerns of private schools and public schools alike, is the demand that instruction shall strike the note of reality; that it shall find the real pupil and give him instruction that he can lay hold of

without pretence and without precocity. Red blood is going to school, and the school is interested in things that send red blood bounding to young muscles and young brains

And what will be the result to American scholarship? Perhaps it will be this: That teachers who also have red blood will make more insistent demand for real scholarship, and will get what they demand. The need of improvement at this point is urgent and should not be discounted. But one word should be added: We must be willing to stop short of the highest possible scholarship in our American schools, if that last finish of scholarly excellence cost never so little of the real vigor of American life. The life is more than learning.

We have been considering thus far the secondary school in the light of the doctrine that the school is life. Some of the most significant and far-reaching consequences of that doctrine have not been touched; but we hasten on to another view, which has been foreshadowed, and is not altogether another. Our adolescent student is continually reaching out after larger conceptions of duty and opportunity. With him, one wave of subjective egoism is succeeded by a wave of devotion to larger human interests. He may be as much an egoist as ever when he contemplates the glory of self-sacrifice for the good of one's fellowmen, but his egoism is then finding its own corrective. In like manner we turn now to the broad question of the relation of secondary education to public interests, but with no sense of breaking with the doctrine we have been considering.

One of the most notable of recent writers on secondary education is the French sociologist and philosopher, M. Alfred Fouillée. Within the past three years he has made important contributions to the current discussion of the reform of secondary education in France. But his general position was set forth with great clearness, ten or twelve years ago, in his book entitled *Education from a national standpoint*. This work deals with the schools of France.

We need a full discussion of American education from a national standpoint, or rather from the public standpoint, which includes the national. Doubtless some one will give us such a work in due time. But in these last pages let us glance briefly at some current tendencies as seen from the standpoint of public interests.

The spirit of democracy is abroad in modern societies, whatever their form of government. Rightly understood, it is one of the choicest possessions of our modern civilization. So one of the most searching tests of any educational tendency is its bearing upon essential democracy.

By essential democracy we may understand the spirit which values men according to their manhood. It is the spirit which judges of men on the ground of inherent worth, and not on the ground of such fortuitous attributes as birth or wealth or mere reputation. Democracy surely recognizes differences among men. It sees that some must lead and some must follow. Its peculiarity is that it seeks by all means to devolve leadership on him who is fittest to lead.

More than this, true democracy recognizes in men a diversity of gifts, such that each man is destined to lead in some things and to follow in others, to lead in some relations in life and to follow in other relations. That is, to lead wisely and to follow wisely are the correlated duties of every man in a democratic society. Democracy in the long run puts the highest price on pre-eminence in each of the several walks of life. It puts a price on pre-eminence of every sort, and teaches every man to respect the different capacities of other men. The question, then, to put to our institutions of secondary education is this: Do they help every student to find himself and his fellowmen? For a portion of its students, secondary education may share this responsibility with the education of the higher schools. But the responsibility falls upon the secondary school in a peculiar way, for the reason that this grade of instruction deals with a stage of development in which the student is for the first time, as it were, in possession of his complete equipment of instincts, powers,

and passions, and is, accordingly, for the first time fairly face to face with his destiny.

1. Now let us attempt to trace some bearings of this view upon current tendencies in our secondary education. In the first place, what are secondary schools doing, and what can they do, to maintain and advance the spirit of true democracy? I do not see that this question has much to do with the question of social "sets" and all that sort of thing. It is rather a question whether the youth in our schools are learning to value human worth for what it is, and not for what it has, and are learning that they are responsible, each for a social service peculiarly his own. Diversity of education is not necessarily a bar to such instruction; but every sort of educational snobbishness is its deadly enemy.

In the main, we may safely assume that public high schools are democratic in tone, and serve to reinforce the democratic spirit in our society. But we must not carry this assumption too far. There is need, even in public schools, to guard against the subtle danger of valuing men for something other than what they are. It would be a very great mistake, too, to assume that the tendency of private schools is mainly or even largely undemocratic. It would not appear that such is the case. A large and well-established boarding school certainly has a democracy of its own, which imposes a wholesome check on some forms of exclusiveness.

There is constant need, however, to guard in private schools, and in all schools for that matter, against the danger of artificial standards. Especially do the teachers of private schools which have a reputation for exclusiveness need to guard their students against this danger. There can be no doubt that many such teachers are faithful to a high degree in this matter. And the reward of their faithfulness is this: The knowledge that they are not only promoting the moral uplift of their own students, but are also serving important public ends. I believe there are families whose only hope of getting a breath of real American democratic

air is in the training the youth of those families get in schools that educate.

2. M. Fouillée, in the work referred to, contended that the "selection of superiorities" is one chief form of service which the school must render the state. The saying may be accepted with all heartiness. Just because democracy is so easily perverted into a system of "levelling down," the schools need by all means to keep faith with its true spirit, and seek for latent leadership as for hid treasure. As our schools grow in numbers, it becomes increasingly difficult to give special stimulus to those of more than ordinary endowment, that they may make the most of the gift that is in them. The chief gain that we are making in this respect is not seen in any improvement in system, but rather in the more general employment in the schools of teachers of thorough preparation, who are capable of making their instruction generally stimulating.

But democracy does more than demand that the schools shall find and develop natural leaders. It demands that the schools shall find and develop in each pupil his peculiar side of leadership. This is even more difficult than the other. Here, again, the growth of our schools is a hindrance to their efficiency. Here comes in new emphasis on the responsibility of the principals of schools. Here, too, we find some of the good effects of the movement toward the freer election of studies. It has been suggested that the middle-school course be so arranged that at the close of each two-year period the student shall be allowed to make a new election, but that within this period his course shall be relatively unchangeable. There seems to be wisdom in this recommendation. It amounts to this, that at a given time a two-year course be mapped out in accordance with the best knowledge then available as to the student's quality and capability, that he be kept at this course long enough to show whether the choice was a good one for him or not, and that at the end of this period choice be made for the ensuing two years in the light of the experience of the past.

This would make the course of training a continued trial of the student's quality with a view to finding his best. And that, indeed, is what every secondary course should be. By some such means we might save many misfits in life, without running into those endless term-to-term readjustments which only render a course of instruction jerky and generally hysterical. It is something like this that the Germans are trying to do under the Frankfort plan, but that plan provides for three-year periods instead of two. The fact that this tendency is international emphasizes its importance. It is, in truth, the current form of the demand that secondary education shall help the student to find himself. The demand has come from the psychological side of education. It comes now from the national side.

Such a system as this could be made much more effective in a six-year or an eight-year high school than in our four-year schools. The tendency toward an extension of the secondary course upward and downward can barely be referred to here. It is as yet more a tendency of thought than of practice. Yet we see some signs of its finding its way down to the ground. It is not unlikely that we shall have, side by side with our present system, numerous experiments with secondary schools which take in the last year or two of the present elementary course, and with the same or other schools so organized as to cover the first two years of the present college course. It is very desirable that such experiments be made. In the making of such experiments, it would seem possible for private schools to render one more important service to our secondary education. And we can be content to let the matter work itself out under the wisdom taught by experience.

But there is another tendency of large significance, which has to do with the effort to find for every citizen his place of most effective service. That is the movement which is giving us vocational schools of secondary grade.

We seem to be coming to a more general and insistent demand that men shall have training for their work in life.

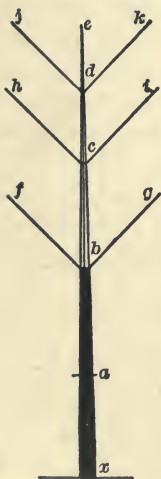
Since the breaking down of the old order of trade guilds and apprenticeship, the need of regular training has long been obscured. There is an American notion of long standing which has added to this obscurity — the notion that special training for any particular service is a reflection on the brightness of the person trained. If he had gumption, he would be able to do his work without having to learn how to do it. This does not seem to have been the colonial view, but it grew up rather in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. This crude conceit is now passing away. Training of the highest sort is provided in the professions, particularly in medicine. Teaching still lags in this respect, but is trying to catch up. The several forms of engineering are already firmly placed on the platform of technical training. As regards the trades, progress has been slow, but progress has surely been making. The idea of specific training has reappeared, but in a different world from that of the trade guilds with their system of apprenticeship. It is a world of schools. When this age undertakes to rebuild the old mediaeval conception that each man shall be master of his own craft, it will do it through a system of trade schools. In fact, this seems to be what we are coming to — a view of public education which plans to make the schooling of every pupil culminate in training for some occupation in life. We shall say to our youth: "You have left school before school is out if you have not begun to learn in school to do your daily work."

Vocational training is to be postponed as long as possible. It is to rest upon the most extended general schooling which the individual can get. And each of these types of education is to shade off into the other; each is to reinforce the other. The ideal of useful occupation will ennoble the more general instruction of the lower schools, and the ideals of liberal education will ennoble the school of trades. The future artisan will be encouraged to be as much of an artist as he can be. All this may seem but a dream. And some of it may be only what Ruskin or William Morris dreamed

quite half a century ago. Yet it may not be the worse for that, and in any case it may stand till something better is proposed.¹

The movement toward vocational training, however it may be organized, is already upon us, and it seems reasonable to believe that the enormous expansion of high-school attendance in this country of late, with the attendant effort of the schools to meet the needs of all, is in part a gathering up of the forces of our American youth preparatory to a more general mastery of the daily business of life. How far the specific training for distinct occupations should be given in schools under public control is, however, a question unsettled as yet. The full co-operation of schools of many sorts will be needed: of that we may be sure. The

¹ The national system of education here contemplated may be roughly indicated by the following diagram, in which the upright central trunk represents



provision for general culture, "training for citizenship," or whatever such education of a universal sort may be called; while the branches represent specific training for some occupation in life. The part *xa* of this tree of knowledge may stand for the training of the home and kindergarten, up to about the age of six: the part *ab*, for the elementary school, six or eight years in length. The lowest grade of vocational training ought surely not to begin till a good elementary education of a general sort has been secured. But after that many pupils can continue their schooling only long enough to make some start toward an occupation in life in some trade school, as *bf* or *bg*. The courses in these schools will be of varying length. But this scheme proposes as the standard *minimum* for those whose school life must be brief, the whole elementary course, *ab*, and a substantial extension, two years at least in length, along one of the lines of vocational training branching off at the point *b*.

The part *bc* will represent the general culture of the secondary school, which, under various arrangements, may be four, six, or even eight years in length. In a highly developed system, probably the close of each two-year period in this course would become a node from which vocational schools of various sorts would arise. In the diagram, such schools, *ch*, *ci*, are represented as branching off from the end of the secondary-school period. In our present educational organization, the higher

growth of secondary schools of a technical and commercial sort is, in fact, bringing with it a whole new set of problems. We cannot consider them here. Within the next few years the discussion of them will very likely fill a large place in our educational literature.

Three principles which have been roughly blocked out in this chapter may now be recapitulated side by side: First, the general culture of secondary grade which is needed for life, is practically identical with that which best fits for the higher education. Secondly, the colleges will serve the real interests of higher education by such entrance tests and requirements as will best promote the general, educational efficiency of the secondary schools. Thirdly, the schooling of each individual should be carried as far on the lines of general culture as his circumstances will permit — but in any normal case to the end of the elementary-school course, and in no case to the extreme of lifelong dilettanteism; — and should then be rounded out with specific preparation for some worthy occupation in life. I take it that these are principles which will influence our secondary education within the next few years. No one of them can be accepted as a finality. They are working hypotheses, subject to correction as we go along.

3. Our secondary education, then, is meeting a public

schools of technology; the technical colleges of our universities; such schools of the learned professions as require no further preparatory study than that offered by the high schools; and our better normal schools, which also rest upon the high-school course, are all represented by these slanting lines, *c h* and *c i*.

The part *c d* will stand for the "culture courses" of the college or university, ordinarily four years in length, which may in time be shortened. The slanting lines, *d j*, *d k*, will then represent graduate professional schools, like the present medical courses of Harvard and Johns Hopkins Universities; and *d e* may stand for the graduate studies leading to the doctorate in Philosophy. The distinction between technical and cultural studies, at no point absolute, becomes more obscured in the higher stages of education, where the studies of the central trunk become more and more specialised, and in the end are themselves, in a way, professional. The diagram disregards this fact, and calls attention particularly to the relation of vocational to general training in the organization of schools, and in the course of education of each individual.

need in the promotion of real democracy, and in helping individuals to find their field of most effective service. In the third place it is meeting a public need in the largest sense by promoting a wholesome civic spirit. Those who are experimenting with schemes of self-government in high schools are aiming, among other things, to create an intelligent interest in municipal affairs. The study of American history and civil government is taking a larger place in the high-school curriculum. The neglect of these subjects in the past has been one of the most striking anomalies in our courses of instruction. American literature is also receiving ample attention in both elementary and secondary schools.

The emphasis thus laid on the national spirit in our schools is not peculiar to this country. It is characteristic of our time. The tendency which it represents calls for strong approval. I trust I shall not be misunderstood when I add that local or even national spirit cannot be regarded as the final and absolute end of our education. We are living in an age when nationality is seen as the ultimate object of patriotism. But that age is passing. The strenuous effort of the German emperor to make the German *Gymnasium* more intensely national is only one indication of this fact. It can hardly be doubted that we are moving toward a time when our country will be the world, and patriotism will mean devotion to the interests of mankind. The growing importance of international law, the advance of international co-operation, the gradual unification of the ideals of civilization, and a hundred other indications point in this direction.

It is no utopian view that is here presented. The progress referred to is slow; but it has been mightily accelerated within the memory of living men. The time to live and die for one's country is not past; it will not pass in our day; but just as surely as in times gone by the voice of patriotism has called men to fight for their nation as opposed to a rebellious section, just so surely a time will come when the voice of patriotism will call men to fight for humanity

as opposed to any nation that rebels against the general interests of humanity. Our highest aspiration for our country is not that it shall overcome others — that it shall make itself the biggest nation among a crowd of envious lesser nations — but rather that it shall contribute most to the realization of that higher “federation of the world.”

So the tendency of our secondary education which will in the end promote the truest patriotism, is the tendency to look to the highest good of all mankind. This is only another way of saying that as our schools grow more national they should also grow more truly humanistic. The older humanism was devotion to an ideal, to be sure, but an abstract ideal. The newer humanism of the schools cannot well dispense with the best that the older humanism had to offer. But it will cease to be abstract. It will call forth a spirit of devotion, not to an ideal republic of the past, but to the commonwealth of the present and the greater commonwealth of the future.

The youth in our secondary schools are ready to be swayed toward either intense selfishness or the most generous self-devotion. The best that the schools can do to guard them against self-centred commercialism, is to awaken their enthusiasm for some ideal good, which has power of appeal to the imagination. Literature and history can make such appeal, by awakening the sentiment of patriotism. And they will make this appeal at its best when they give our youth some glimpses of the larger patriotism, of the universal good, which we hope to see our country serving in the days that are to come, as no nation has served it since the nations began to be.

So we may look to see humanism as dominant in the schools of the twentieth century as it was in those of the sixteenth; but a new humanism, leaning more and more on science, mindful of the past, patriotic in the present, and looking hopefully forward to the larger human interests that have already begun to be.

But the subject is a large one, and many aspects of it

which will appear to some of paramount importance, must be passed without discussion or even without mention. Stress has been laid on some of the chief tendencies, already observable, which offer good hope for the future. Broadly speaking, the dominant movements may be seen in the effort to put life, real life, fulness of life, into the school; and in the effort to make the school minister in the largest sense to the public good. These efforts tend, for one thing, toward greater flexibility in our courses of study, but also toward something more than flexibility. Our boys and girls belong to the highest form of life, and it is a vertebrate course of study that they require.

These efforts tend to emphasize the importance of making and discovering real teachers. President Benjamin Ide Wheeler has said, "I am convinced that teachers are not exclusively born." We have only to add that teachers, both born and made, must needs be discovered.

They tend further toward co-operation and division of labor between public and private secondary schools, in meeting somewhat of the religious need of adolescents; and in promoting that sort of democracy which knows that

"A man's a man for a' that."

They tend toward the practical recognition of the doctrine, to every man his work and preparation to do his work.

They tend toward nationalism which is not so much the nationalism of "My country, right or wrong," as the nationalism of "My country for the enlightenment of the world."

The consideration of tendencies in secondary education just now brings us near to the very heart of our civilization. For the past ten or twelve years we have seen middle-school problems occupying a central place in the thought of the great culture nations. We have had a decade or more of middle-school reforms. The great milestones in the progress of these reforms have been the December Conference at Berlin in 1890, and the revision of the Prussian curriculums which followed; the report of our own Committee of Ten in

1893; the report of the English Parliamentary Commission on Secondary Education in 1895, and the establishment of the English Board of Education to give effect to recommendations which this commission presented; the report of the Committee on College-Entrance Requirements, of our National Educational Association in 1899; the report, in 1899 and 1900, of the commission appointed by the French Chamber of Deputies; the Brunswick Declaration and the Kiel decree, of 1900; the establishment of the College Entrance Examination Board and the Commission on Accredited Schools in the year just past. It is a most remarkable record, and warrants the belief that we have just been passing through one of the greatest formative epochs in the history of secondary schools. In America it has been, not a time of crisis, as in the nations of Europe, but rather a time of unparalleled progress. In 1889-90 less than three-fifths of one per cent of our population was enrolled in our secondary schools; in 1899-1900 nineteen-twentieths of one per cent was so enrolled, and in eighteen states this proportion was more than one per cent. If the figures at hand are correct, this is by far the largest proportion of any great people to be found pursuing studies of this grade, Prussia showing a little less than one-half of one per cent and France a trifle less than Prussia.

It is the public high schools that have done it. While the percentage of the population in private schools increased in the decade from 0.23 to 0.25, the percentage in the high schools increased in the same period from 0.36 to 0.70. It is evident that the high school has come to be an immensely significant factor in our American life: raising our standard of living; giving currency to higher ideas and ideals; sending great numbers of our young people on to the universities and so accentuating in our age the character of a university age; increasing the range of selection in all occupations calling for the intermediate and higher grades of intelligence; and forcing the wider differentiation of our curriculums by the very immensity and variety of the demands for instruction which must be satisfied.

It becomes in an important sense the mission of our secondary schools to help our people of all social and industrial grades and classes to understand one another, for they help the schools of all kinds and grades to understand one another. Especially is this true of the public high school, which lays its hand directly upon both the primary school and the university.

It is a great thing, this promoting of a good understanding between all classes of our citizens. There will be times of crisis when it will be a paramount concern in our national life. We can view with patience even the bungling work occasionally done by politically minded school boards in dealing with our high schools, when we realize that in just this way our *demos*, of which we are all a part, is working toward an understanding of an institution which in many lands the *demos* neither tries nor cares to understand. Even through temporary mismanagement of our higher educational institutions our people are coming to understand one another, and through better management they are coming to a better understanding.

It takes wisdom and patience and poise and unbounded good-will to discharge the responsibilities of an intermediary position such as is occupied by our middle schools. But if such graces shall abound in the teachers and managers of the schools, these will deserve well of their country; and even though we are a democracy, we shall not be wholly ungrateful.

APPENDIX A

STATISTICS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

(From the Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1899-1900.)

THE total number of secondary students in institutions of all classes reporting to this Office for the scholastic year ending June, 1900, was 719,241, or more than 4 per cent of the aggregate enrollment in all the schools and colleges of the United States which was 17,020,710. There was a gain of 64,014, or nearly 10 per cent, over the preceding year in the number of secondary students enrolled. The secondary students enumerated were distributed among eight classes of institutions as follows:

Institutions.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Public high schools	216,207	303,044	519,251
Public normal schools	1,049	1,906	2,955
Public universities and colleges	6,132	2,087	8,219
Private high schools	55,734	55,063	110,797
Private normal schools	3,817	2,798	6,615
Private universities and colleges	28,682	19,384	48,066
Private colleges for women		13,817	13,817
Manual training schools	5,588	3,933	9,521
Total	317,209	402,032	719,241

The enrollment of secondary students for the year 1899-1900 was almost 1 per cent of the total population, or 9,460 in every million of population. The number reported as enrolled is something less than the actual number of secondary students in the United States. In localities in most of the States where high schools are not accessible there are many students pursuing sec-

ondary studies under the direction of teachers of the elementary schools. The 91,549 students in commercial schools are not here included.

Since 1890 the rate of increase of secondary students has been more rapid than the rate of increase in population. The number of secondary students in private institutions has about kept pace with the growth of population from year to year, while the number of such students in public institutions has increased from about 3,600 to the million in 1890 to over 7,000 to the million in 1900. The following table shows the remarkable growth in the number of secondary students in the past ten years:

Secondary students and per cent of population.

Year.	In public institutions.		In private institutions.		In both classes.	
	Secondary students.	Per cent of population.	Secondary students.	Per cent of population.	Secondary students.	Per cent of population.
1889-90	221,522	0.36	145,481	0.23	367,003	0.59
1890-91	222,868	.35	147,567	.23	370,435	.58
1891-92	247,660	.38	154,429	.24	402,089	.62
1892-93	256,628	.39	153,792	.23	410,420	.62
1893-94	302,006	.45	178,352	.26	480,358	.71
1894-95	361,370	.53	178,342	.26	539,712	.79
1895-96	392,729	.56	166,274	.23	559,003	.79
1896-97	420,459	.59	164,445	.23	584,904	.82
1897-98	459,813	.63	166,302	.23	626,115	.86
1898-99	488,549	.66	166,678	.23	655,227	.89
1899-1900 . . .	530,425	.70	188,816	.25	719,241	.95

It has been found impracticable to collect complete statistics of secondary students in the preparatory departments of colleges and other institutions, such as the number of students pursuing certain studies, and certain other details. For this reason this chapter is devoted almost exclusively to the statistics of the 6,005 public high schools and the 1,978 private high schools, academies, and seminaries reporting directly to this Bureau for the year 1899-1900. The following table shows the remarkable growth of public and private high schools since 1889-90:

Year reported.	Public.			Private.			Total.
	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.	Schools.	Teachers.	Students.	
1889-90	2,526	9,120	202,943	1,032	7,209	94,931	16,329
1890-91	2,771	8,270	211,596	1,714	6,231	98,400	14,501
1891-92	3,035	9,564	239,556	1,550	7,093	100,739	16,657
1892-93	3,218	10,141	254,023	1,575	7,199	102,375	17,340
1893-94	3,964	12,120	289,274	1,982	8,009	118,645	20,129
1894-95	4,712	14,122	350,099	2,180	8,559	118,347	22,681
1895-96	4,974	15,700	380,493	2,106	8,752	106,654	24,452
1896-97	5,109	16,809	409,433	2,100	9,574	107,633	26,383
1897-98	5,315	17,941	449,000	1,990	9,357	105,225	27,298
1898-99	5,495	18,718	476,227	1,957	9,410	103,838	28,128
1899-1900	6,005	20,372	519,251	1,978	10,117	110,797	30,489

The relative progress of public and private secondary schools since 1889-90.

Year reported.	Per cent of number of schools.		Per cent of number of teachers.		Per cent of number of students.	
	Public.	Private.	Public.	Private.	Public.	Private.
1889-90	60.75	39.25	55.85	44.15	68.13	31.87
1890-91	61.78	38.22	57.03	42.97	68.26	31.74
1891-92	63.19	36.81	57.42	42.58	70.40	29.60
1892-93	66.23	33.77	60.25	39.75	70.78	29.22
1893-94	66.67	33.33	60.21	39.79	70.91	29.09
1894-95	68.37	31.63	62.26	37.74	74.74	25.26
1895-96	70.25	29.75	64.21	35.79	78.11	21.89
1896-97	70.87	29.13	63.71	36.29	79.18	20.82
1897-98	72.76	27.24	65.72	34.28	81.03	18.97
1898-99	73.74	26.26	66.55	33.45	82.10	17.90
1899-1900	75.22	24.78	66.82	33.18	82.41	17.59

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS.

Of the 1,978 private secondary schools reported, 945 are controlled by religious denominations. In these denominational schools there were 5,074 instructors and 53,624 secondary students, as against 5,043 instructors and 57,173 students in the 1,033 nonsectarian schools. In Table 43, which gives in detail the statistics of private secondary schools, the name of the religious denomination controlling each school is given in column 4. Tables 28 and 29 show the number of schools in each State controlled by each religious denomination. The following synopsis is made from these tables :

Religious denomination and nonsectarian.	Schools.	Instructors.	Students.
Nonsectarian	1,033	5,043	57,173
Roman Catholic	361	1,910	15,872
Episcopal	98	714	5,145
Baptist	96	529	7,173
Presbyterian	93	402	4,574
Methodist	65	324	5,522
Friends	55	296	3,428
Congregational	51	242	2,671
Methodist Episcopal South	38	154	2,863
Lutheran	32	175	2,032
Other denominations	56	328	4,344
Total	1,978	10,117	110,797

Courses, studies, etc.	Number students.	Per cent of total number.	Male students.	Per cent of total number male students.	Female students.	Per cent of total number female students.
Students preparing for college:						
Classical course.	52,409	8.32	28,010	10.30	24,399	6.81
Scientific courses	39,108	6.21	23,059	8.48	16,049	4.48
Total preparing for college	91,517	14.53	51,069	18.78	40,448	11.29
Graduating in 1900	73,953	11.74	28,801	10.59	45,152	12.61
College preparatory students in graduating class	24,366	a 32.95	12,417	a 43.11	11,949	a 26.46
Students in —						
Latin	314,856	49.97	129,872	47.76	184,984	51.66
Greek	24,869	3.95	15,919	5.85	8,950	2.50
French	65,684	10.43	23,682	8.71	42,002	11.73
German	94,873	15.06	39,942	14.69	54,931	15.34
Algebra	347,013	55.08	152,706	56.15	194,307	54.26
Geometry	168,518	26.75	74,096	27.25	94,422	26.37
Trigonometry	15,268	2.42	8,752	3.22	6,516	1.82
Astronomy	21,595	3.43	7,920	2.91	13,675	3.82
Physics	118,936	18.88	52,554	19.33	66,382	18.54
Chemistry	50,431	8.00	23,153	8.51	27,278	7.62
Physical geography	144,135	22.88	61,050	22.67	82,485	23.03
Geology	25,300	4.02	10,352	3.81	14,948	4.17
Physiology	169,844	26.96	72,571	26.69	97,273	27.16
Psychology	20,126	3.19	7,453	2.74	12,673	3.54
Rhetoric	237,502	37.70	98,520	36.14	139,211	38.87
English literature	230,493	41.19	106,820	39.28	152,673	42.63
History (other than United States)	238,134	37.80	96,219	35.38	141,915	39.63
Civics	132,863	21.09	56,970	20.95	75,893	21.19

a Per cent of number of graduates.

Per cent of the total number of secondary students in public and private high schools and academies in certain courses and studies, etc.

Students and studies.		1889-90	1890-91	1891-92	1892-93	1893-94	1894-95	1895-96	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899-1900.
Males		45.03	43.67	44.01	43.62	43.39	43.00	43.40	43.84	43.50	42.93	43.16
Females		54.97	56.33	55.99	56.38	56.61	57.00	56.60	56.16	56.50	57.07	56.84
Preparing for college, classical course		10.61	8.45	9.18	9.90	10.34	10.00	10.05	8.94	7.99	7.87	8.52
Preparing for college, scientific courses		8.05	6.38	7.59	8.22	7.33	7.11	7.16	6.57	6.03	6.18	6.21
Total preparing for college . .		18.66	14.83	16.77	18.12	17.67	17.11	17.21	15.51	14.02	14.05	14.53
Graduates		10.05	10.51	10.87	11.46	11.88	11.60	11.73	11.95	11.75	11.78	11.74
Graduates prepared for college <i>a</i> .		. .	35.74	39.15	36.62	30.92	32.44	32.69	32.60	30.60	31.61	32.95
Studying —												
Latin		33.62	39.80	38.80	41.94	43.59	43.76	46.22	48.01	49.44	50.29	49.97
Greek		4.32	4.65	4.68	4.92	4.99	4.73	4.58	4.60	4.50	4.27	3.95
French		9.41	9.06	8.59	9.94	10.31	9.77	10.13	9.98	10.48	10.68	10.43
German		11.48	15.68	11.61	13.00	12.78	12.58	13.20	13.76	14.24	14.91	15.06
Algebra		42.77	49.89	47.65	49.92	52.71	52.40	53.46	54.22	55.29	56.21	55.08
Geometry		20.07	23.04	22.52	24.36	25.25	24.51	25.71	26.24	26.59	27.36	26.75
Trigonometry . . . . .		. .	. .	2.96	3.61	3.80	3.25	3.15	3.08	2.83	2.58	2.42
Astronomy . . . . .		. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.27	5.19	4.89	4.40	3.94	3.43
Physics		21.36	23.06	22.04	22.25	24.02	22.15	21.85	20.89	20.48	19.97	18.88
Chemistry		9.62	10.37	10.08	9.98	10.31	9.31	9.15	9.18	8.55	8.64	8.00
Physical geography . . . . .		. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	22.44	24.93	24.64	24.33	23.75	22.88
Geology . . . . .		. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	5.52	5.20	4.93	4.66	4.41	4.02
Physiology . . . . .		. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	28.03	31.08	29.98	29.38	28.62	26.96
Psychology . . . . .		. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	3.35	3.82	3.82	3.64	3.19	3.19
Rhetoric . . . . .		. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	31.31	32.27	33.78	35.30	36.70	37.70
English literature . . . . .		. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	38.90	40.60	41.19
History (other than U S.) . . .		27.83	29.77	31.35	33.46	35.78	34.65	35.73	36.08	37.68	38.32	37.80
Civics . . . . .		. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	21.41	20.89	21.09

a Per cent of total number of graduates.

APPENDIX B

RECENT SCHOOL CURRICULUMS

I

COURSE OF STUDY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOLS OF THE BOROUGH OF MANHATTAN AND THE BRONX, NEW YORK, 1901

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Drawing, one period a week the first and third years, and two periods a week the second and fourth years, is prescribed for pupils in the Commercial Course, and for those preparing for higher institutions that require drawing for admission. It is optional for others.

Music, one period a week, is prescribed for pupils who purpose to become teachers; others may elect music or elocution.

Physical training, two periods a week, is prescribed for all pupils; but half the time allotted to physical training in the third and fourth years may be given to elocution.

One of the periods in physics is to be given to exercises for which no special preparation has been made by the pupil.

No new class in an elective subject shall be formed for less than forty (40) pupils in the first year, thirty (30) pupils in the second year, twenty-five (25) in the third year, and fifteen (15) in the fourth year.

These courses of study may be modified, when necessary to meet the requirements for admission to higher institutions.

Whenever any pupil on account of ill health, or for any other sufficient reason, is unable to complete the prescribed work in the assigned time, the principal is authorized to arrange the subjects of

study in any one of these courses in such a way that the requirements may be completed in an additional year.

I. — CLASSICAL.

Year.	Periods a Week.
I.	Biology 3 English 3 History 3 Latin 5 Mathematics 4 Physiology 1 <hr/> 19
II.	English 3 French or German (4) or Greek (5) 4 or 5 History 3 Latin 5 Mathematics 4 <hr/> 19 or 20
III.	English 3 French or German or Greek 4 French or German begun (4) or Physics (5) 4 or 5 Latin 5 Mathematics 4 <hr/> 20 or 21
IV.	English 3 French or German or Greek 4 Latin 5 Electives 8 A modern language Advanced Mathematics Biology Chemistry Greek and Latin (ad- ditional) History <hr/> 20

II. — COLLEGE AND NORMAL PREPARATORY.

I.	Biology 3 English 3
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Year.	Periods a Week.
	History 3 Latin 5 Mathematics 4 Physiology 1 <hr/> 19
II.	English 3 French or German 4 History 3 Latin 5 Mathematics 4 <hr/> 19
III.	English 3 French or German 4 Latin 5 Mathematics 4 Physics 5 <hr/> 21
IV.	English 3 Latin 5 Electives 12 Astronomy Biology Chemistry French or German History Mathematics Physiography <hr/> 20

III. — SCIENTIFIC.

I.	Biology 3 English 3 French or German or Span- ish or Latin 5 History 3 Mathematics 4 Physiology 1 <hr/> 19
II.	English 3 French or German or Spanish (4) or Latin (5) 4 or 5 History 3

Year.	Periods a Week.
Mathematics	4
Physiography or Chemis- try	4
	<hr/> 18 or 19

III. Civics and Economics . . .	3
English	3
French or German or Span- ish (4) or Latin (5) . . .	4 or 5
Mathematics	4
Physics	5
	<hr/> 19 or 20

IV. English	3
French or German or Span- ish (4) or Latin (5) . . .	4 or 5
Electives ¹	12
Astronomy	
Biology	
Chemistry	
History	
Mathematics	
Physiography	
	<hr/> 19 or 20

IV. — MODERN LANGUAGE.

I. Biology	3
English	3
French	5
History	3
Mathematics	4
Physiology	1
	<hr/> 19

II. English	3
French	4
German	4
History	3
Mathematics	4
	<hr/> 18

III. English	3
French	4
German	4
Mathematics	4
Physics	5
	<hr/> 20

Year.	Periods a Week.
IV. Chemistry	4
English	3
German	4
History	4
Mathematics	4
	<hr/> 19

V. — COMMERCIAL.

I. Biology	3
English	3
French or German or Span- ish	5
History	3
Mathematics	4
Physiology	1
	<hr/> 19

II. Bookkeeping and Commer- cial Arithmetic	4
English	3
History	3
Mathematics	4
The Modern Language continued	4
	<hr/> 18

III. Bookkeeping and Commer- cial Arithmetic	4
Civics and Economics . . .	3
English	3
Stenography and Type- writing	5
The Modern Language continued or a second Modern Language begun (4) or Physics (5) . . .	4 or 5
	<hr/> 19 or 20

IV. Commercial Law and His- tory of Commerce	4
English	3
English Composition . . .	3
Stenography and Type- writing	5
The first Modern Lan- guage continued, or a	

¹ A pupil desiring to pursue the study of a second foreign language will be permitted to elect one of the modern languages not previously pursued.

	Periods a Week.
second Modern Language continued or Chemistry or History .	4
	<hr/> 19

TABULAR VIEW OF STUDIES.

1st Year. — Drawing, Music, Physical Training.

History: Oriental, Grecian, Roman.

Language: English, French, German, Latin, Spanish.

Mathematics: Algebra.

Science: Biology (elementary), Physiology.

2d Year. — Drawing, Music, Physical Training.

Commercial Subjects: Arithmetic, Bookkeeping.

History: English, Mediæval, Modern.

Language: English, French, German, Greek, Latin, Spanish.

Mathematics: Geometry.

Science: Chemistry, Physiology.

3d Year. — Drawing, Music, Physical Training.

Commercial Subjects: Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Stenography, Typewriting.

History: Civics, Economics.

Language: English, French, German, Greek, Latin, Spanish.

Mathematics: Algebra, Geometry.

Science: Physics.

4th Year. — Drawing, Music, Physical Training.

Commercial Subjects: Commercial Law, History of Commerce, Stenography, Typewriting.

History: Modern-Continental, United States.

Language: English, French, German, Greek, Latin, Spanish.

Mathematics: Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry.

Science: Astronomy, Biology, Chemistry, Physiography.

II

COURSE OF STUDY, ST. MARK'S SCHOOL, SOUTH-BOROUGH, MASSACHUSETTS, 1901-1902.

FIRST FORM

ENGLISH. Reading: Kipling's Jungle Books; Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome; Andrew Lang's Blue Poetry Book; Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; Longfellow's Evangeline, Tales of a Wayside Inn. Writing. Spelling: The American Word-Book. Composition. Declamation.

HISTORY. History of England (Montgomery).

LATIN. Collar and Daniell's First Year Latin. Rust's Latin Composition.

MATHEMATICS. Arithmetic, through Interest, including problems by algebraic methods. Mental Arithmetic.
SCIENCE. Physical Geography. Nature Study.
FRENCH. Edgren's Grammar. Lyon and de Larpent's French Translation Book. Composition. Conversation.
SACRED STUDY. The Catechism. Bible Lessons.

SECOND FORM

ENGLISH. Reading: Scott's Marmion, Lady of the Lake, Talisman; Selection from Hawthorne; Dickens' Oliver Twist, David Copperfield; Stevenson's Treasure Island. Writing. Spelling: The American Word-Book. Composition. Declamation.
HISTORY. History of France (Montgomery).
LATIN. Gate to Cæsar. The Gallic War, two books. Rust's Latin Composition. Bennett's Grammar.
MATHEMATICS. Arithmetic, finished. Algebra, through Fractions.
FRENCH. French Grammar (Grandgent). Easy texts for translation. Composition.
SCIENCE. Physical Geography. Nature Study.
SACRED STUDY. The Bible.

THIRD FORM

ENGLISH. Reading: Byron's Mazeppa, Prisoner of Chillon, and other poems; Tennyson's Idylls of the King; Dryden's Palamon and Arcite; Goldsmith's Poems, She Stoops to Conquer, Vicar of Wakefield; Coleridge's Ancient Mariner; Pope's Iliad; Tennyson's Coming of Arthur, Holy Grail, Passing of Arthur. Composition. Maxwell and Smith's Writing in English. Declamation.
GREEK. The Beginner's Greek Book (White). Selections from the Anabasis (Phillipotts and Jerram). Goodwin's Grammar.
LATIN. Cæsar, Gallic War, four books. Vergil, Æneid, Book I., 1-300. Daniell's Latin Composition. Bennett's Grammar.
FRENCH. French Grammar (Edgren). L'Abbé Constantin (Halévy). Les Fleurs de France (Fontaine). Composition.
GERMAN. Zerbrochene Krug (Zschokke). Märchen und Erzählungen. Conversation. Grammar.
MATHEMATICS. Algebra, to Quadratic Equations. Plane Geometry, Book I.
SCIENCE. Physiography.
SACRED STUDY. Old Testament History.

FOURTH FORM

ENGLISH. Shakespeare: Twelfth Night, Merchant of Venice, Henry IV., Macbeth; Eliot: Silas Marner. Rhetoric. Composition. Debates.

HISTORY. History of the United States (Johnston).

GREEK. Xenophon, Anabasis, I.-IV. Greek Composition (Collar and Daniell). Goodwin's Grammar.

LATIN. Vergil, Æneid (I.-V.). Daniell's Latin Composition. Bennett's Grammar. Selections from Nepos. Sight Readings from Prose Authors.

FRENCH. Histoire d'un Conscrit (Erekmann-Chatrian). Colomba (Michelet). Mademoiselle de la Seiglière. Composition.

GERMAN. German Grammar. Nicotiana (Baumbach). Composition. Fluch der Schönheit (Riehl). L' Arrabbiata (Heyse). Zerbrochene Krug (Zschokke). (*Substitute for Greek.*)

MATHEMATICS. Algebra, finished. Plane Geometry, three books.

SCIENCE. (1) Botany. (2) Mechanical Drawing. *Either (1) or (2) is required when Greek is omitted.*

SACRED STUDY. Life of Christ: Study of the Gospels.

FIFTH FORM

ENGLISH. Shakespeare's Macbeth; Burke's Speech on Conciliation with America; Milton's Shorter Poems; Sir Roger de Coverley Papers, from the Spectator; Macaulay's Essays on Milton and Addison. Composition. Rhetoric. Extemporaneous Speaking.

HISTORY. (1) A History of Greece (Myer). History of Rome (Allen). (2) History of the United States (Fiske). History of England (Larned).

GREEK. Xenophon: Anabasis, II. (*review*), VII.; Hellenica, II.-VII., Selections; Cyropædia, Selections. Translations at sight. Greek Composition.

LATIN. Cicero, four orations against Catiline. Selections from Ovid and Vergil. Sallust's Catiline. Sight Reading. Daniell's Latin Composition. Bennett's Grammar.

FRENCH. Corneille, Racine, Molière: one play by each author. Mademoiselle de la Seiglière. Colomba. Trois Contes Choisis. Reading at sight. Composition, based on texts.

GERMAN. Katzensteg (Sudermann). Der Neffe als Onkel. (Schiller). Der Schwiegersohn (Baumbach). Aus dem Staat Friedrichs des Grossen (Freytag). Das Wirthshaus zu Cransac (Zschokke). Silva's Aus meinem Königreich. Grammar (Joynes-Meissner and Thomas).

MATHEMATICS. Geometry. Reviews.

SCIENCE. Physics, with laboratory work.

(See *Sixth Form Electives*.)

SACRED STUDY. Early Church History. .

SIXTH FORM

Required.

ENGLISH. Composition: Hill's Principles of Rhetoric; Practice in Writing. Literature: Swift's Battle of the Books and Gulliver's Travels; Defoe's Robinson Crusoe (Part I.); Pope's Rape of the Lock, Epistle to Arbuthnot, and Iliad I., VI., XXII.; The Lives of Swift, Defoe, and Pope, in the English Men of Letters Series; Thackeray's English Humorists, and Henry Esmond. Three hours a week. Extemporaneous Speaking. One hour a week.

LATIN. Cicero: Roseius Amerinus, Archias, Manilian Law, Milo, and other orations. Vergil: Æneid, Books VI.-XII. Mather and Wheeler's Latin Composition. Six hours a week.

GERMAN. Equivalent to course in Fifth Form, for those who have not taken it. Four hours a week.

SACRED STUDY. Church History. One hour a week.

Electives.

MATHEMATICS. (1) Trigonometry, Solid Geometry. (2) Advanced Algebra. (3) Analytic Geometry. Three hours a week.

SCIENCE. (1) Physiography. (2) Mechanical Drawing, including Projections. (3) Advanced Physics. (4) Botany. (5) Meteorology. Laboratory work in all the science courses. Four hours a week.

HISTORY. (1) Emerton's Mediæval Europe (814-1300). (2) Johnston's American Politics. Three hours a week.

GREEK. Homer: Iliad and Odyssey, Selections and at sight. Attic Prose at sight (Euripides, Medea). Four hours a week.

GERMAN. Composition. Thomas's Grammar. Wilhelm Tell (Schiller). Minna von Barnhelm (Lessing). Dichtung und Wahrheit (Goethe). Aus dem Staat Friedrichs (Freytag). Neffe als Onkel (Schiller). Lyrics. Sight Translation. Four hours a week.

III

COURSES OF STUDY OF THE LOWELL HIGH SCHOOL, SAN FRANCISCO, 1901

Conspectus of the Four Courses

Year	SUBJECTS	I. Latin- Scientific Periods	II. Classical Periods	III. Modern Language Periods		IV. Scientific Periods	
				I. §	II. ¶	I. §	II. §
I.	Mathematics	2					
	English	4					
	Latin	4	Same as Course I.	Same as Course I.		Same as Course I.	
	Science	3					
	History	4					
	Drawing	3					
II.	Mathematics	4	4				
	English	3	3				
	Latin	5	5				
	Science	4	4, 0	Same as Course I.		Same as Course I.	
	History	3	3				
	Greek		0, 4				
	Drawing	1	1				
III.	Mathematics	5	4	5	5	5	5
	English	3	2	3	2	3	3, 2
	Latin	4	4	(4)*	(4)†	4, 0	
	Science	5	2	5	2	5, 9	5, 9
	History	3	3	3	3	3	3, 0
	Greek		5				
	French			(4)*	(4)†		(4)‖
	German			(4)*	(4)†		(4)‖
IV.	Mathematics	3	4, 0	3	4, 0	3	3
	English	5	4, 3	5	4, 3	5	4, 3
	Latin	(4)*	(4)†	(4)*	(4)†		
	Science	3	4	3	4	3	3
	History	5	0, 5	5	0, 5	5	4, 5
	Greek		(4)†				
	French	(4)*	(4)†	(4)*	(4)†		(4)‖
	German	(4)*	(4)†	(4)*	(4)†		(4)‖
	Drawing					4	4

Italicized numbers apply to second term only.

* Any one of three languages.

† Any two of the four languages.

‡ Any two of the three languages.

‖ Either one of the two languages.

§ Compare with Course I.

¶ Compare with Course II.

APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General histories, local, state, and national, are not included. State and city school reports, and reports and catalogues of individual institutions are likewise omitted, with the exception of a few which contain historical notes, reprints of earlier documents, or other matter of unusual historical interest. Histories of a few institutions of higher education are included because of matter which they contain relating to secondary schools.

For list of abbreviations, see p. xiii.

I. GENERAL

Academies and other schools in New England and New York. Quarterly Register and Journal of the American Education Society, v. 2, pp. 231-237. Andover, 1830.

List of academies and their funds. Some additional items are given relating to the more important schools.

Academies, high schools, and gymnasia. The Quarterly Register of the American Education Society, v. 3, pp. 288-292. Boston, 1831.

An interesting supplement to the account in the preceding volume.

Academy, The old village. The Atlantic Monthly, v. 72, pp. 853-855, December, 1893.

From the Contributors' Club. A bright and entertaining sketch of a country academy fifty years ago.

Adams, Charles Kendall. Ought the state to provide for higher education? The New Englander, v. 37, pp. 362-384, May, 1878.

A reply to President Magoun's article (New Englander, July, 1877) on *The source of American education*.

Adams, Charles Kendall. Review of Ten Brook's "American state universities, their origin and progress." N. A. Rev., v. 121, pp. 365-408, October, 1875.

This book review is substantially an independent article. It contains interesting notes on the history of secondary as well as of higher education. It called forth a reply from President Magoun, *q. v.*

Adams, Francis. The free school system of the United States. London: Chapman and Hall, 1875, pp. 309.

Calls attention to the increase of high schools and decrease of academies in different states, pp. 84-95.

Allen, Nathan, M.D. The old academies. *New Englander and Yale Review*, v. 44, pp. 104-112, January, 1885.

Reviews the objects for which the academies were founded, and proceeds with adverse criticism of high schools.

Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. Proceedings of the annual convention.

The first two numbers, 1887 and 1888, appeared under the title of the College Association of Pennsylvania; the third to the sixth, 1889-92 (numbered 1-4), under the title of the College Association of the Middle States and Maryland; the series under the present title began in 1893 (numbered 1), the following issue was numbered 2, but with the issue of 1895, consecutive numbering from the beginning was adopted, making that issue no. 9. A list of the earlier publications of the Association appears in the issue for 1898 (no. 12).

Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States. Proceedings of the [annual] meeting.

The series begins with the first meeting, held in 1895.

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- Mayo, Rev. A. D. [LL.D.].** The development of the common school in the western states from 1830 to 1865. Rept. Comr. Ed. for 1898-99, v. 1, pp. 357-450.

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Woodbridge, Rev. William. Reminiscences of female education. *Am. Journ. Ed.*, v. 16, pp. 137-140.

II. STATE AND LOCAL

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Boese, Thomas. Public education in the city of New York. New York, 1869, pp. 228.

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Bourne, Wm. Oland. History of the Public School Society of the City of New York. New York, 1870, pp. 32 + 768.

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Chapters 2 and 3, secondary education. A bibliography appears on pp. 214-215.

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Passages relating to secondary schools may be found on the following pages : 4, 7, 27, 203-213, 224-237, 259. A brief bibliography is given on page 10.

Coggeshall, William T. System of common schools in Ohio. Am. Journ. Ed., v. 6, pp. 81-103.

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Colorado. 1861-1885. Education in Colorado. A brief history of the early educational interests of Colorado, together with the history of the state teachers' association, and short sketches of private and denominational institutions. Compiled by order of the state teachers' association. Denver, Colo., 1885, pp. 99.

The editorial committee consisted of Horace M. Hale, Aaron Gove, and Joseph C. Shattuck.

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Emerson, George B. Education in Massachusetts: early legislation and history. A lecture of a course by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, delivered before the Lowell Institute, Feb. 16, 1869. Boston, 1869, pp. 36.

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Hinsdale, B. A., Ph.D., LL.D. The history of popular education on the Western Reserve. An address delivered in the series of educational conferences held in Association Hall, Cleveland, September 7 and 8, 1896. Reprint from Ohio Arch. and His. Society Publications, pp. 35-58.

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Chapter 2 contains interesting information relating to the old academies.

Kansas. Columbian history of education in Kansas. Topeka, 1893, pp. 8 + 231.

Knight, George W., Ph.D., and Commons, John R., A.M. The history of higher education in Ohio. Circ. Inf. no. 5, 1891. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 12, pp. 258.

Bibliographical notes are appended to the principal chapters. The appendix contains a history of the Association of Ohio Colleges, by Professor John M. Ellis; and the abstract of a paper on colleges and high schools, by Professor Henry C. King.

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Lowell, Massachusetts. Whitcomb, Arthur K. The schools of Lowell. Historical sketch. Lowell Daily Courier, February 24, 1900, pp. 5 and 8.

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McCrary, Edward, Jr. Education in South Carolina prior to and during the Revolution. A paper read before the Historical Society of South Carolina, 6th August, 1883. Published by the Society. Charleston, S. C., 1883, pp. 54.

McCrary, Edward, Jr. McMaster and Macaulay. *The Nation*, v. 37, p. 11, July 5, 1883.

A letter criticising the statement in the first volume of John Bach McMaster's *A history of the people of the United States* (New York, 1883) that "In South Carolina, prior to 1730, no such thing as a grammar school existed."

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Devoted for the most part to the history of the University and the several colleges of Michigan. An account of the origin of the "diploma school" system is given on pp. 70-71. A bibliography of the University is presented in chapter 11. A short chapter on Common schools and secondary education, is appended.

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Lectures 1, 2, 3, and 5 deal to some extent with secondary education.

Massachusetts policy of incorporated academies. *Am. Journ. Ed.*, v. 17, pp. 574-575. Reproduced *Idem*, v. 30, pp. 58-59; *Idem*, pp. 761-762. Also *Rept. Comr. Ed. for the year 1868*, pp. 431-432. Also Fortieth annual report of the [Massachusetts] Board of Education, 1875-76, Appendix E, pp. 207-209.

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Meriwether, Colyer. History of higher education in South Carolina with a sketch of the free school system. Circ. Inf. no. 3, 1888. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 4, pp. 247. Chapter 1 — Early education in the Colony. Chapter 2 — Education in the academies. Chapter 8 — Bibliography of the history of higher education in South Carolina (very full). Appendix 2 — Education in South Carolina prior to and during the Revolution. By Edward McCrady, Jr.

Merriam, Lucius Salisbury, Ph.D. Higher education in Tennessee. Circ. Inf. no. 5, 1893. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 16, pp. 287.

Contains references to secondary education in the histories of colleges and universities; and in chapter 12, on The public school system of Tennessee, by Thaddeus P. Thomas, M.A. Bibliographical notes are appended to the principal chapters.

Michigan. Historical sketches of education in Michigan. Forty-fourth annual report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, with accompanying documents, for the year 1880, pp. 295-453.

A valuable sketch of secondary education is included, pp. 335-352.

Michigan. Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the state of Michigan for the years 1855, 1856, and 1857. Ira Mayhew, Superintendent of Public Instruction. Lansing, 1858, pp. 7 + 629.

These three reports together constitute a valuable volume. Attention may be called especially to the discussion of "Intermediate or academic schools," pp. 16-18; "Colleges and academies," pp. 45-47; "Union schools," pp. 47-63; also to the very able report of 1856 by President Henry P. Tappan, of the University of Michigan, pp. 155-184, in which "an entire system of public education" is described.

Millar, John. The school system of the state of New York (as viewed by a Canadian). Prepared under the authority of the Honorable the Minister of Education, as an appendix to his annual report. Toronto: Warwick Bro's & Rutter, 1898, pp. 204.

Minnesota. Annual reports of the inspector of state graded schools.

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Minnesota. **Annual reports** of the inspector of state high schools, state of Minnesota.

The first of these reports was issued in 1894. The third was not printed.

Minnesota. **Manual** of the high school board, state of Minnesota. Revised edition, 1894, pp. 130.

Morrison, Wm. S. Some of the fragments of the history of education in South Carolina. Proceedings of the State Teachers' Association of South Carolina, twenty-third annual meeting, 1894, pp. 6-16.

Two other papers, containing historical notes, appear in the same number: one by Professor Snyder, on The public schools and their relation to higher education, pp. 51-56; and one by Professor H. T. Cook, on Relation between schools and colleges, pp. 57-62.

Murray, David, Ph.D., LL.D. History of education in New Jersey. Circ. Inf. no. 1, 1899. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 23, pp. 344.

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Ohio. **Historical Sketches** of the public schools in cities, villages, and townships of the state of Ohio. N. p., 1876.

Parker, Leonard F. Higher education in Iowa. Circ. Inf. no. 6, 1893. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 17, pp. 190.

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Powell, Lyman P. The history of education in Delaware. Circ. Inf. no. 3, 1893. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 15, pp. 186.

Chapters 5-7 contain considerable information relating to the history of Delaware academies. A bibliography is given in chapter 11.

Pratt, Daniel J. Annals of public education in the state of New York. In proceedings of the University Convocation of the State of New York, published in the annual reports of the Regents. 82d Rept., 1869, pp. 830-886; 83d Rept., 1870, pp. ; 86th Rept., 1873, pp. 681-712; 87th Rept., 1874, pp. 715-780; 89th Rept., 1876, pp. 671-744.

The third instalment (1873) contains a summary of legislative grants and franchises for the benefit of academies. The fourth (1874) relates to the

early history of Columbia College, and includes reprints of William Livingston's articles (see pp. 283-287 and 296 of this work). The last instalment relates to the founding of the University of the State of New York. All are rich in reprints of original documents, collected from many sources. The first two instalments, dealing with early colonial schools, have been revised and reprinted in the following:

Pratt, Daniel J. Annals of public education in the state of New York, from 1626 to 1746. Albany, 1872, pp. 7 + 152.

Ramage, B. James. Local government and free schools in South Carolina. Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, v. 1, no. 12. Baltimore, October, 1883, pp. 40.

Pp. 29-40 contain a rather meagre account of free schools in South Carolina.

Randall, S. S. History of the common school system of the State of New York, from its origin in 1795, to the present time. Including the various city and other special organizations, and the religious controversies of 1821, 1832, and 1840. New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor & Co., 1871.

Raper, Charles Lee. The church and private schools in North Carolina. A historical study. Greensboro, N. C.: Jos. J. Stone, 1898, pp. 247.

Sherwood, Sidney, Ph.D. The University of the State of New York: History of higher education in the state of New York. Circ. Inf. no. 3, 1900. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 28, pp. 538.

Sherwood, Sidney, Ph.D. University of the State of New York, origin, history, and present organization. Regents' Bulletin no. 11, January, 1893. Albany, 1893, pp. 201-300.

Introduction. (1) Outline of the present system in New York. (2) The founding of the University. (3) An era of educational revolution. (4) Century of University work. Bibliography. Appendix; text of University laws of 1892.

Shinn, Josiah H. History of education in Arkansas. Circ. Inf. no. 1, 1900. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 26, pp. 121.

Part 1, chapter 2, Academies [before the War]; part 2, chapter 2, City systems of high schools and academies.

Simonds, J. W. Schools as they were in New Hampshire. Am. Journ. Ed., v. 28, pp. 353-368.

Taken from the annual report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for 1876.

Smith, Charles Lee. The history of education in North Carolina. Circ. Inf. no. 2, 1888. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 3, pp. 180.

A general survey. Chapter 6 is devoted to secondary education. The appendix includes a bibliography.

Smith, Edward. A history of the schools of Syracuse from its early settlement to January 1, 1893. Syracuse, N. Y. : C. W. Bardeen, 1893, pp. 347.

Snow, Marshall S. Higher education in Missouri. Circ. Inf. no. 2, 1898. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 21, pp. 164.

Statistics of public instruction in cities and large towns. Am. Journ. Ed., v. 1, pp. 458-470.

Items relating to high schools in Boston, Philadelphia, and Providence.

Stearns, J. W., Editor. The Columbian history of education in Wisconsin. Published under authority and by direction of the State Committee on Educational Exhibit for Wisconsin, 1893, pp. 8 + 720.

Steiner, Bernard C., Ph.D. Address at the alumni reunion of Frederick College, June 22, 1892. Published in the catalogue of Frederick College, Frederick, Md., 1893.

A carefully prepared sketch of the history of secondary education in Maryland.

Steiner, Bernard C. The history of education in Connecticut. Circ. Inf. no. 2, 1893. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 14, pp. 300.

Chapters 1, 2, and 4 are rich in information with reference to secondary education.

Steiner, Bernard C., Ph.D. History of education in Maryland. Circ. Inf. no. 2, 1894. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 19, pp. 331.

The first two chapters, contributed by Professor Basil Sollers, present a remarkably thorough study of the history of secondary schools in Maryland.

Stockwell, Thomas B. [Editor]. A history of public education in Rhode Island from 1636 to 1876. Providence, 1876, pp. 5 + 458.

Contains: A history of the public school system of Rhode Island, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson; a concise history of the rise and progress of the public schools in the city of Providence, by Edwin Martin Stone; an account of the University Grammar School; and brief papers on the history of education in other towns and institutions.

Swett, John. History of the public school system of California. San Francisco, 1876, pp. 247.

References to secondary education are found on pp. 17, 18, 77, 80, 94-95, 232.

Taylor, James W. A manual of the Ohio school system; consisting of an historical view of its progress, and a republication of the school laws in force. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co., 1857, pp. 14 + 17-413.

Contains *An historical review* by William T. Coggeshall, pp. 325-413.

Tolman, William Howe, Ph.D. History of higher education in Rhode Island. Circ. Inf. no. 1, 1894. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 18, pp. 210.

Parts 1, 2, and 3 contain much information relating to the history of secondary schools, with liberal quotations from original documents. A bibliography is found on pages 209 and 210.

University of the State of New York. Annual reports of the Regents, Albany.

These reports embody the current history of the secondary and higher education of the state of New York; and contain besides much valuable information on special topics relating to secondary education in New York and elsewhere.

Virginia. **Education in colonial Virginia.** By the editor. William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine.

Part 1, v. 5, pp. 219-223, April, 1897. Part 2, v. 6, pp. 1-6, July, 1897. Part 3, v. 6, pp. 71-86, October, 1897. Part 4, v. 6, pp. 171-189, January, 1898.

Virginia. **Historical development of education.** Virginia—colonial period. Am. Journ. Ed., v. 27, pp. 33-58.

Walton, George A. Report on academies. Fortieth annual report of the [Massachusetts] Board of Education, 1875-76. Appendix E, pp. 174-347. Boston, 1877.

A detailed account of the Massachusetts academies, including an article on "New England academies and classical schools," by the Rev. Charles Hammond, A.M. Separate sketches of over one hundred academies are given, varying greatly in length and fulness of detail. A number of these sketches are reproduced in Barnard's American Journal of Education, and receive separate mention in the third division of this bibliography.

Wickersham, James Pyle, LL.D. A history of education in Pennsylvania, private and public, elementary and higher. From the time the Swedes settled on the Delaware to the present day. Lancaster, Pa.: Inquirer Publishing Company, 1886, pp. 23 + 683.

This is an important contribution to the history of civilization in America. Its chief defect is the paucity of references to original sources—which were evidently used very extensively by the author. Chapters 3, 4, 19, and 22 treat of secondary education.

Willard, Samuel, M.D., LL.D. Brief history of early education in Illinois. Fifteenth biennial report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois (1882-1884), pp. xcvi-cxx.

Wisconsin. **Manual** of the free high schools of Wisconsin. Second edition, revised, 1894 (Oliver E. Wells, State Superintendent), pp. 108. Third edition, revised, 1900 (L. D. Harvey, State Superintendent), pp. 88.

Woodburn, James Albert, Ph.D. Higher education in Indiana. Circ. Inf. no. 1, 1891. Am. Ed. Hist. no. 10, pp. 200.

Valuable and well-arranged material relating to secondary education is presented in the first five chapters.

III. INDIVIDUAL INSTITUTIONS

Abbot Academy. **Jackson, Miss Susannah E.** Abbot Female Academy, Andover. Am. Journ. Ed., v. 30, pp. 597-599.

From the Massachusetts report of 1875-76.

Abbot Academy. **McKeen, Philena, and McKeen, Phebe F.** Annals of fifty years. A history of Abbot Academy, Andover, Mass., 1829-1879. With an introduction by Edwards A. Park, D.D. Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1880, pp. 20 + 259.

Albany. **History** of the Albany High School. Albany, 1876.

Includes a description of the new building and an account of the exercises at its dedication.

Albany High School. **General catalog** and account of the celebration of the 25th anniversary. Albany, N. Y., 1894.

Albany Academy. **Historical sketch** of the Albany Academy. Its present condition. Albany, 1874, pp. 6.

A reprint from the Albany Evening Times for June 23, 1874. The name of the author does not appear.

Albany Academy. **The celebration** of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Albany Academy. Albany, N. Y., 1889.

Contains historical sketch by Mr. Ernest J. Miller.

Bacon Academy. **Loomis, Israel Foote.** Bacon Academy. Its founder — and some account of its service. The Connecticut Quarterly, v. 2, pp. 121-139, April-June, 1896.

Berwick Academy. **A memorial** of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of Berwick Academy, South Berwick, Maine, July 1, 1891. Cambridge, 1891, pp. 15 + 118.

Bethlehem School. **Mortimer, C. B.** Bethlehem and Bethlehem School. New York: Stanford & Delisser, 1858, pp. 208.

Boston. **Semi-centennial anniversary** of the English High School, May 2, 1871. Containing the poem, by Rev. R. C. Waterston, and the oration, by Hon. J. Wiley Edmonds. With an account of the festival and an historical appendix. Boston, 1871, pp. 112.

Boston. **Girls in the public schools of Boston.** Am. Journ. Ed., v. 13, pp. 243-266.

A fairly complete history of the Girls' High School in Boston up to 1861.

Boston. **Memorial of the dedication of the Public Latin and English High Schoolhouse.** Boston, 1881.

Addresses, reminiscences, a note on John Cotton's connection with the origin of the Latin School, and an account of the new building.

Boston. **English High and Latin Schools, Boston, Mass.** A brief history of the schools. Journal of Education, v. 13, pp. 134-135. Boston, Mass., February 24, 1881.

Boston. **English High School, Boston, Mass.,** Catalogue of the scholars and teachers of the. From 1821 to 1890.

Published by the English High School Association. Contains historical sketch by Thomas Sherwin.

Boston Latin School. **Catalogue** of the Boston Public Latin School, established in 1635. With an historical sketch prepared by Henry F. Jenks. Boston: Published by the Boston Latin School Association, 1886. Historical sketch, pp. 6 + 139; catalogue, pp. 8 + 393.

This work, prepared under the editorial direction of Dr. Edward Everett Hale, is the best of its class, so far as my knowledge goes. It embodies the results of long-continued and minute research; and is especially rich in reprints of original documents.

Boston Latin Grammar School, The. Am. Journ. Ed., v. 12, pp. 529-560. Reproduced, *Idem*, v. 27, pp. 65-96.

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Boston Latin School. **Brooks, Phillips.** The Boston Latin School. The New England Magazine, v. 8, pp. 681-704, August, 1893.

This is an address delivered in 1885 at the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of the Latin School. It is found also in *The oldest school in America*.

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It is less full and accurate than the *Historical sketch* by the same author in the *Catalogue* of 1886.

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Latin School, April 23, 1885. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1885, pp. 106.

This is a delightful little volume, but its title is misleading. See *Collegiate School*.

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Nos. 1 (pp. 63), 2 (pp. 59), 3 (pp. 43), 4 (pp. 91), and 5 (pp. 30). They throw much light upon the educational doctrine and practice of the time. Of especial value is the article, doubtless by Benjamin Apthorp Gould, *Some account of the free schools in Boston* (no. 4, pp. 3-56).

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Other historical notes and reminiscences follow in the same issue.

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Reminiscences of Cheshire Academy.

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Cincinnati. **Woodward High School in Cincinnati.** *Am. Journ. Ed.*, v. 4, pp. 520-525.

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Includes *Historical address* by William A. Mowry, Ph.D., pp. 10-52.

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Dummer Academy, South Byfield. Am. Journ. Ed., v. 30, pp. 763-768.

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course and methods of instruction at present pursued. New Bedford, 1876, pp. 73.

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Hartford High School, History of the. *Journal of Education*, v. 20, p. 167. Boston, September 11, 1884.

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A large part of this publication is taken up with reprints of documents relating to the history of the seminary. The *Historical address*, by the Rev. Henry N. Pohlman, D.D., pp. 7-41, is full of interest.

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A valuable work, full of reprints of original documents and extracts from public records.

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Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven. The Hopkins bequest at New Haven. *Am. Journ. Ed.*, v. 28, pp. 275-304.

Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven. Bacon, Leonard Woolsey. An historical discourse on the two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, Connecticut. De-

livered before the "Hopkins Grammar School Association," July 24, 1860. New Haven, 1860, pp. 64.

Very interesting and valuable. The text of original documents is given in an appendix.

Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven. **The Hopkins bequest** at New Haven. *Am. Journ. Ed.*, v. 28, pp. 275-304.

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From the Massachusetts report of 1875-76. Sketch by E. A. Hubbard, Agent of the Board of Education, with extracts from the History of the Academy, by Emory Washburn, LL.D.

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Contains *Historical address*, by Franklin B. Hough, pp. 51-88.

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Milton Academy. Thacher, Thomas. A discourse delivered at Milton, September 9, 1807; being the day appointed for the dedication of the academy in that place. Published by request of the trustees of the academy. Dedham, 1807, pp. 23.

Monson Academy. *Discourses and speeches*, delivered at the celebration of the semi-centennial anniversary of Monson Academy, Monson, Mass., July 18th and 19th, 1854. Published by the trustees. New York, 1855, pp. 90.

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Chapters 1-3 contain a brief sketch of the earlier history of the education of women in the United States.

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Phillips Exeter. **Peabody, Rev. Andrew P., D.D.** Phillips Exeter Academy. New Englander and Yale Review, v. 44, pp. 436-446.

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APPENDIX D

THE FIRST PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS IN THE 160 CITIES NOW HAVING OVER 25,000 POPULATION ¹

	Population of City 1900.	Date of first open- ing of a Public High School.	Date of es- tablishment of a regular 2 to 4 year course in the High School.	Date when H. S. began to receive pupils by pro- motion upon completion of a 6 to 8 year ele- mentary course.
New York, N. Y. . . .	3,437,202	1849	1849	1849
Chicago, Ill.	1,698,575	1856	1856	1881
Philadelphia, Pa. . . .	1,293,697	1838	1839	...
St. Louis, Mo.	575,238	1853	1853	1853
Boston, Mass.	560,892	1634	...	...
Baltimore, Md.	508,957	...	...	...
Cleveland, Ohio	381,768	1846	1846	1846
Buffalo, N. Y.	352,387	1854	1860	1861
San Francisco, Cal. . . .	342,782	...	...	...
Cincinnati, Ohio	325,902	1847	1847	1847
Pittsburg, Pa.	321,616	1854	1854	1854
New Orleans, La.	287,104	1843	1843	1843
Detroit, Mich.	285,704	1844	1858	1858
Milwaukee, Wis.	285,315	1868	1868	1868
Washington, D. C. . . .	278,718	1877	1877	1877
Newark, N. J.	246,070	1854	1854	1854
Jersey City, N. J. . . .	206,433	1872	1872	1872
Louisville, Ky.	204,731	1856	1856	1856
Minneapolis, Minn. . . .	202,718	1865	1865	1865
Providence, R. I.	175,597	1843	1843	1843
Indianapolis, Ind. . . .	169,164	1864	1864	1864
Kansas City, Mo.	163,752	1867	1869	...
St. Paul, Minn.	163,065	1865	1865	1865
Rochester, N. Y.	162,608	1859	1859	1859
Denver, Colo.	133,859	1874	1874	1876
Toledo, Ohio	131,822	1849	1849	1850
Allegheny, Pa.	129,896	...	...	...
Columbus, Ohio	125,560	...	...	...
Worcester, Mass.	118,421	1824	1824	1883
Syracuse, N. Y.	108,374	1855	1855	1855
New Haven, Conn. . . .	108,027	1859	1863	1859
Paterson, N. J.	105,171	1854	1875	1854

¹ Prepared (1902) by the Bureau of Education, and kindly furnished, in MS. copy, for publication in this work.

	Population of City 1900.	Date of first open- ing of a Public High School.	Date of es- tablishment of a regular 2 to 4 year course in the High School.	Date when H. S. began to receive pupils by pro- motion upon completion of a 6 to 8 year ele- mentary course.
Fall River, Mass. . . .	104,863	....	....	....
St. Joseph, Mo. . . .	102,979	1866	1866	1866
Omaha, Nebr. . . .	102,555	1871	1871	1872
Los Angeles, Cal. . . .	102,479	....	....	....
Memphis, Tenn. . . .	102,320	1870	1870	1870
Scranton, Pa. . . .	102,026	1858	1875	1877
Lowell, Mass. . . .	94,969	1831	1852	1831
Albany, N. Y. . . .	94,151	1868	1868	1869
Cambridge, Mass. . . .	91,886	1838	1838	1839
Portland, Ore. . . .	90,426	1869	1869	1869
Atlanta, Ga. . . .	89,872	1872	1872	1873
Grand Rapids, Mich. . .	87,565	1859	1859	1859
Dayton, Ohio	85,333	1850	1850	1850
Richmond, Va. . . .	85,050	1872	1872	1872
Nashville, Tenn. . . .	80,865	1855	1855	1855
Seattle, Wash. . . .	80,671	1883	1885	1883
Hartford, Conn. . . .	79,850	1847	1857	1847
Reading, Pa. . . .	78,961	1852	1852	1853
Wilmington, Del. . . .	76,508	1852	1872	1872
Camden, N. J. . . .	75,935	1891	1891	1891
Trenton, N. J. . . .	73,307	1874	1874	...
Bridgeport, Conn. . . .	70,996	....	....	....
Lynn, Mass. . . .	68,513	1849	1852	1880
Oakland, Cal. . . .	66,960	1870	1870	1870
Lawrence, Mass. . . .	62,559	1849	1849	1849
New Bedford, Mass. . .	62,442	1827	1827	1850
Des Moines, Iowa. . . .	62,139	1864	1864	...
Springfield, Mass. . . .	62,059	1841	1841	1887
Somerville, Mass. . . .	61,643	1852	1858	1858
Troy, N. Y. . . .	60,651	1854	1858	1854
Hoboken, N. J. . . .	59,364	1870	1894	1870
Evansville, Ind. . . .	59,007	...	...	...
Manchester, N. H. . . .	56,987	....	....	....
Utica, N. Y. . . .	56,383	1854	1868	1868
Peoria, Ill. . . .	56,100	1858	1858	1859
Charleston, S. C. . . .	55,807	....	....	....
Savannah, Ga. . . .	54,244	1868	1868	1868
Salt Lake City, Utah . .	53,531	1853	1853	1890
San Antonio, Tex. . . .	53,321	1879	1879	1879
Duluth, Minn. . . .	52,969	1872	1874	1876
Erie, Pa. . . .	52,733	1866	1866	1866
Elizabeth, N. J. . . .	52,130	1874	1874	1874
Wilkesbarre, Pa. . . .	51,721	1890	1890	1890
Kansas City, Kan. . . .	51,418	1886	1886	1886
Harrisburg, Pa. . . .	50,167	1837	1850	1854
Portland, Me. . . .	50,145	1821	1821	1821
Yonkers, N. Y. . . .	47,931	1882	1882	1882

	Population of City 1900.	Date of first open- ing of a Public High School.	Date of es- tablishment of a regular 2 to 4 year course in the High School.	Date when H. S. began to receive pupils by pro- motion upon completion of a 6 to 8 year ele- mentary course.
Norfolk, Va.	46,624	1858	1896	1896
Waterbury, Conn. . .	45,859	1851	1851	1851
Holyoke, Mass. . . .	45,712	1852	1864	1866
Fort Wayne, Ind. . .	45,115	1861	1861	1861
Youngstown, Ohio . .	44,885	...	...	...
Houston, Tex.	44,633	1877	1877	1878
Covington, Ky. . . .	42,938	1865	1865	1865
Akron, Ohio	42,728	...	...	...
Dallas, Tex.	42,638	1885	1885	1885
Saginaw, Mich. . . .	42,345	...	...	...
Lancaster, Pa.	41,459	1849	1849	1850
Lincoln, Nebr.	40,169	1873	1892	1873
Brockton, Mass. . . .	40,063	1864	1865	1864
Binghamton, N. Y. . .	39,647	1842	1861	1861
Augusta, Ga.	39,441	1875	1875	...
Pawtucket, R. I. . . .	39,231	1855	1855	1874
Altoona, Pa.	38,973	1868	1875	1876
Wheeling, W. Va. . . .	38,878	1897	1897	1897
Mobile, Ala.	38,469	1883	1883	1883
Birmingham, Ala. . .	38,415	1883	1883	1883
Little Rock, Ark. . . .	38,307	...	...	...
Springfield, Ohio . . .	38,253	1856	1856	1856
Galveston, Tex.	37,789	1881	1881	1881
Tacoma, Wash.	37,714	1875	1883	1883
Haverhill, Mass. . . .	37,175	...	...	...
Spokane, Wash.	36,848	1885	1886	1887
Terre Haute, Ind. . . .	36,673	1863	1863	1863
Dubuque, Iowa	36,297	1866	1867	1867
Quincy, Ill.	36,252	1862	1862	1863
South Bend, Ind. . . .	35,999	1868	1868	1870
Salem, Mass.	35,956	1636	1836	1877
Johnstown, Pa.	35,936	1868	1882	1890
Elmira, N. Y.	35,672	1861	1861	1861
Allentown, Pa.	35,416	1868	1868	1869
Davenport, Iowa . . .	35,254	1859	1859	1860
McKeesport, Pa. . . .	34,227	1881	1881	1881
Springfield, Ill. . . .	34,159	1857	1858	1858
Chelsea, Mass.	34,072	1845	1852	...
Chester, Pa.	33,988	1872	1872	1872
York, Pa.	33,708	1870	1870	1870
Malden, Mass.	33,664	1857	1857	1857
Topeka, Kan.	33,608	1874	1874	1874
Newton, Mass.	33,587	1859	1859	1859
Sioux City, Iowa . . .	33,111	1869	1876	1876
Bayonne, N. J.	32,722	1880	1880	1880
Knoxville, Tenn. . . .	32,637	1875	1875	1880
Schenectady, N. Y. . .	31,682	1855	1855	1856

	Population of City 1900.	Date of first open- ing of a Public High School.	Date of es- tablishment of a regular 2 to 4 year course in the High School.	Date when H. S. began to receive pupils by pro- motion upon completion of a 6 to 8 year ele- mentary course.
Fitchburg, Mass. . . .	31,531	1830	1849	1876
Superior, Wis. . . .	31,091	1889	1889	1889
Rockford, Ill. . . .	31,051	1857	1858	1859
Taunton, Mass. . . .	31,036	1838	1838	1871
Canton, Ohio	30,667	1854	1854	1854
Butte, Mont.	30,470	1880	1880	1880
Montgomery, Ala. . .	30,346	1882	1882	1882
Auburn, N. Y.	30,345	1866	1866	1866
Chattanooga, Tenn. .	30,154	...	...	...
East St. Louis, Ill. .	29,655	1874	1874	1874
Joliet, Ill.	29,353	1868	1872	1874
Sacramento, Cal. . .	29,282	1854	1897	1854
Racine, Wis.	29,102	1853	1853	1853
La Crosse, Wis. . . .	28,895	1871	1876	1871
Williamsport, Pa. . .	28,757	1869	1869	1869
Jacksonville, Fla. . .	28,429	1873	1873	1873
New Castle, Pa. . . .	28,339	1875	1875	1875
Newport, Ky.	28,301	1873	1873	1873
Oshkosh, Wis.	28,284	1856	1856	1856
Woonsocket, R. I. . .	28,204	1857	1874	...
Pueblo, Colo.	28,157	1879	1879	1880
Atlantic City, N. J. .	27,838	...	...	...
Passaic, N. J.	27,777	1870	1886	1871
Bay City, Mich. . . .	27,628	...	...	...
Fort Worth, Tex. . . .	26,688	...	...	...
Lexington, Ky.	26,369	...	...	...
Gloucester, Mass. . .	26,121	1850	1850	1850
Joplin, Mo.	26,023	1886	1893	1886
South Omaha, Nebr. .	26,001	...	...	...
New Britain, Conn. .	25,998	1851	1872	1882
Council Bluffs, Iowa .	25,802	1868	1868	1868
Cedar Rapids, Iowa .	25,656
Easton, Pa.	25,238	1853	1854	1854
Jackson, Mich.	25,180	...	1866	1860

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The following abbreviations are used in this index: acad., *academy*; gr. s., *grammar school*; h. s., *high school*; s., *school*; ss., *schools*. Other abbreviations are self-interpreting.

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